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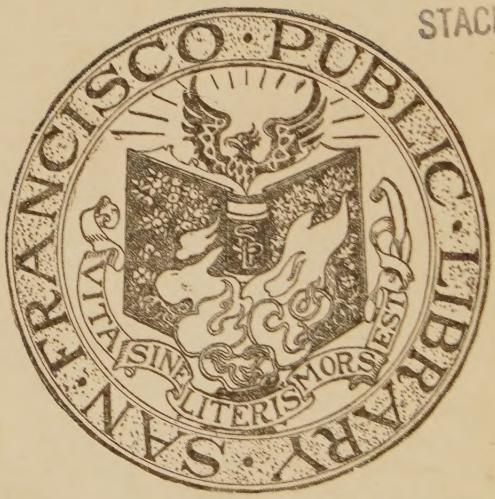

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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. V.

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OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE STARS AND YEAR INDICATE DEATH AND THE TIME OF IT.

---

*Abbott John, Bowd. Col., 1840.
*Abbott William, Bangor, 1849.
*Adams Joseph, Portland, 1850.
*Ames Benj., Bath, 1846.
Allen Frederick, Gardiner.
Abbott John S. C., Brunswick.
*Bailey Jeremiah, Wiscasset, 1853.
*Balch Horatio G., Lubec.
Barnes Phineas, Portland.
*Bond Thomas, Hallowell, 1827.
Bourne Edward E., Kennebunk.
Bradbury James W., Augusta.
*Bradley Sam'l A., Fryeburg, 1844.
*Bradley Samuel, Saco, 1849.
*Bridge James, Augusta, 1834.
Brown Theodore S., Bangor.
Burgess George, Gardiner.
Champlin Jas. T., Waterville.
*Chapin Stephen, Waterville, 1844.
*Clarke William, Hallowell, 1855.
Cleaveland Parker, Brunswick.
*Cole Joseph G., Paris, 1851.
*Cony Daniel, Augusta, 1835.
*Cummings Asa, Portland, 1856.
*Dana Judah, Fryeburg, 1843.
Dane Joseph, Kennebunk.
Davies Charles S., Portland.
*Deane John G., Portland, 1843.
Downes George, Calais.
Dunlap, Robert P., Brunswick.
Eastman Philip, Saco.
Ellingwood John W., Bath.
*Emerson Samuel, Kennebunk, 1851.
Evans George, Portland.
Everett Ebenezer, Brunswick.
*Fairfield John, Saco, 1847.
Farley E. Wilder, Newcastle.
Farrar Samuel, Bangor.
Fessenden Samuel, Portland.
*Fisher Jonathan, Bluehill, 1847.
*Freeman Charles, Limerick, 1850.
*Frothingham Wm., Belfast, 1852.
*Fuller Henry W., Augusta, 1844.
Gardiner Robert H., Gardiner.
Gardiner Frederick, Gardiner.
*Granger Daniel T., Eastport, 1854.

*Greenleaf Moses, Williamsburg.
*Gillet Eliphalet, Hallowell, 1850.
Gilman John T., Portland.
Goodenow Daniel, Alfred.
Goodenow William, Portland.
Groton Nathaniel, Portland.
*Hasey Benjamin, Topsham, 1850.
Haines W. P., Biddeford.
Hathaway Joshua W., Bangor.
*Hayes Wm. A., S. Berwick, 1851.
*Hyde Zina, Bath, 1856.
*Holmes John, Portland, 1843.
Howard Joseph, "
*Ilsley Isaac, " 1853.
*Ingalls Theodore, " 1857.
*Johnson Alfred, Belfast, 1851.
*Kavanah Edward, Newcastle, 1844.
Keeley Geo. W., Waterville.
*Kellogg Elijah, Portland, 1842.
*King William, Bath, 1852.
Kent Edward, Bangor.
*Lincoln Enoch, Paris, 1830.
Lincoln Isaac, Brunswick.
Little Josiah S., Portland.
*Longfellow Stephen, " 1849.
*Loomis Harvey, Bangor, 1825.
*Mann Ariel, Hallowell.
McGaw Jacob, Bangor.
McKeen Joseph, Brunswick.
McKeen John, "
McKeen James, "
McIntire Rufus, Parsonsfield.
*Mellen Prentiss, Portland, 1840.
Merrick John, Hallowell.
Morrill Lot M., Augusta.
*Newman Sam'l P., Brunswick, 1842.
*Nourse Peter, Ellsworth, 1840.
*Orr Benj., Brunswick, 1828.
*Otis John, Hallowell, 1856.
*Packard Hezekiah, Wiscasset, 1849.
Packard Alpheus S., Brunswick.
*Parris Albion K., Portland, 1857.
*Payson Edward, " 1827.
Pierce Josiah, Gorham.
*Pierce George, Portland, 1835.
*Pond Samuel M., Bucksport.
Poor John A., Portland.
*Porter Rufus K., Machias, 1855.
Potter Barrett, Portland.
*Preble Wm. P., Portland, 1857.
*Quinby Moses, Westbrook, 1857.
*Randall Benj , Bath, 1857.
Reddington Asa, Augusta.
Robbins Augustus C., Brunswick.
*Rose Daniel, Thomaston.
*Russell Edward, Portland, 1835.
*Seaver Josiah, S. Berwick.
Selden Calvin, Norridgewock.
*Severance Luther, Augusta, 1855.
*Sewall David, York, 1825.
*Sewall Joseph, Bath, 1852.
Sewall Wm. B., Kennebunk.
Shepley David, Winslow.
Shepley Ether, Portland.
Shepley Geo. F., "
Sheldon David N., Bath.
Simonton Putnam, Portland.
Smith Samuel E., Wiscasset.
*Stebbins Josiah, Alna, 1829.
Smythe William, Brunswick.
Tappan Benj., Augusta.
*Tappan Enoch S., " 1847.
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Thacher Peter, Rockland.
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Tenney John S., Norridgewock.
Thurston David, Searsport.
Upham Thomas C., Brunswick.
*Vaughan Benj., Hallowell, 1835.
Vose Richard H., Augusta.

Ware Ashur, Portland.
*Wells Geo. W., Kennebunk, 1843.
*Weston Jona. D., Eastport, 1834.
Weston Nathan, Augusta.
Wheeler Amos D., Topsham.
Whitman Levi, Norway.
Williams Daniel, Augusta.
Williams Reuel, "
*Williamson Wm. D., Bangor, 1846.
Willis William, Portland.
*Wingate Joshua, Portland, 1843.
Woodhull Richard, Thomaston.
Williamson Joseph, Belfast.
Woods Leonard, Brunswick.
Woodman Jabez C., Portland.

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CHOSEN AS RESIDENT, AND SINCE REMOVED FROM THE STATE.

Allen William, Northampton, Mass.
Cole Jonathan, Exeter, N. H.
Cutter William, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Crosby Wm. G., Boston, Mass.
Fales Thomas F., Waltham, Mass.
Folsom George, N. York.
Greenleaf Jonathan, N. York.
*Greenleaf Simon, Cambridge, 1853.
Goodwin Daniel R., New York.
Hodgdon John, Dubuque, Iowa.
Hitchcock Roswell D., New York.
Kellogg Elijah, Boston, Mass.
Longfellow H. W., Cambridge, Mass.
Nichols Ichabod, " "
Sabine Lorenzo, Framingham, "
Shepley Samuel H.
Southgate Wm. S., Vermont.
Swallow George C.
*Warren Eben. T., Illinois, 1829.

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Bache Alex. H., Washington, D. C.
Bartlett Wm. S., Chelsea, Mass.
*Bowdoin Jas., Boston, Mass, 1834.
Chandler Peleg W, Boston, Mass.
Crabtree William, Savannah, Geo.
Cleaveland John P., New York.
Cleaveland Nehemiah, New York.
Cooley Horace S., Springfield, Mass.
*Dearborn H. A. S., Roxbury, Mass., 1851.
Dewhurst Henry W., London.
*Farmer John, Concord, N. H.
Felch Alpheus, Detroit. Mich.
Frothingham John, Montreal.
*Gallatin Albert, New York.
Graham I. D. Major, U. S. A.
Greenleaf Patrick H.
Hale Samuel, Somersworth, N. H.
*Harris Thaddeus M., Dorchester, Mass., 1842.

Jenks William, Boston, Mass.
Jones George, Savannah, Geo.
Jones Lot, New York.
Johnston John, Middleton, Conn.
Kip William I., California.
Lawrence William B., New York.
Little Josiah, Newburyport, Mass.
Logan, William E., Montreal.
Pike John, Rowley, Mass.
*Ripley Eleazer W., New Orleans.
Savage James, Boston, Mass.
Sibley John L., Cambridge, Mass.
Teft I. K., Savannah, Ga.
Thornton J. Wingate, Boston, Mass.
Tuston Septimus, Washington, D. C.
Vattemare Alexandre, Paris, France.
Waldron Nath'l G., Portsmouth, N.H.
Washburn Emory, Cambridge, Mass.
*Winthrop Thos. L., Boston, 1841.
Winthrop Robert C., Boston, Mass.
Wright Nath'l, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Woodman Cyrus, Mineral Point, Wis.

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ELECTED AUGUST 5, 1857.

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PARKER CLEAVELAND, Corresponding Secretary.
JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, Recording Secretary.
JOHN MCKEEN, Treasurer.
ALPHEUS S. PACKARD, Librarian and Cabinet Keeper.

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WILLIAM WILLIS, LEONARD WOODS,
JOHN S. C. ABBOTT, ROBERT H. GARDINER,
JOHN MCKEEN, PHINEAS BARNES.

STANDING COMMITTEE.

LEONARD WOODS, JOHN MCKEEN,
PARKER CLEAVELAND, ROBERT P. DUNLAP,
JAMES W. BRADBURY.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY,

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION.

PRESIDENTS.

Albion K. Parris,	1822.	Stephen Longfellow,	1834.
William Allen,	1823—1827.	Prentiss Mellen,	1835—1845.
Ichabod Nichols,	1828—1833.	Robert H. Gardiner,	1846—1855.
		William Willis,	1856—

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

Edward Russell,	1822.	Samuel P. Newman,	1828.
Ichabod Nichols	1823—1827.	Parker Cleaveland,	1829—

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

Benjamin Hasey,	1822.	Joseph McKeen,	1836—1845.
Benjamin Tappan,	1823—1827.	William Willis,	1846—1855.
Stephen Longfellow,	1828—1830.	Phineas Barnes,	1856.
William Willis,	1831—1834.	Joseph Williamson,	1857—
Asa Cummings,	1835.		

TREASURERS.

Prentiss Mellen,	1822—1830.	Wm. B. Sewall,	1835.
Albion K. Parris,	1831—1832.	John McKeen,	1836—
William Willis,	1833—1834.		

LIBRARIANS AND CABINET KEEPERS.*

Edward Payson,	1822	Henry W. Longfellow,	1834
Parker Cleaveland,	1823—1828.	Alpheus S. Packard,	1835—
Samuel P. Newman,	1829—1833.		

* The Library and Cabinet are kept at Brunswick, where the annual meeting is held on the day of the College Commencement.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY WM. WILLIS,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

DELIVERED AT AUGUSTA, MARCH, 1857.

ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Maine Historical Society:

I take occasion at this first meeting of the Society, since I was informed of my election as its President, to tender to you my thanks for the honor you have conferred upon me, in selecting me to preside over this learned association. To be one in the line of succession of the distinguished men, who have preceded me, in this office, is, of itself a source of gratification and of honor. Of my six predecessors, three have deceased, Chief Justice Mellen, Stephen Longfellow, and Gov. Parris, names only to be mentioned to be honored, while the survivors, President Allen, late of Bowdoin College, Dr. Nichols, and Mr. Gardiner, of Gardiner, are still giving to the Society the mellow light of their mature age and varied experience.

The government of Maine, early after its organization, in June 1820, imitating the noble example of the Commonwealth from which it had amicably separated, after a union of 142 years, took prompt measures to promote the cause of good learning, and good morals in the new Commonwealth, then commencing its hopeful career.

The colonists of Massachusetts, within six years after planting themselves on the virgin soil, and before they had

consolidated their government, with great wisdom and foresight, laid the foundations of Harvard College, and the wise system of common schools. This example and its abundant fruits were not lost upon Maine; at the first session of her legislature, she made provision for the establishment of a medical school at Bowdoin College, and passed an "act to encourage literature, and the useful arts and sciences," by which was granted to Bowdoin College $21,000, and $7,000 to the college at Waterville. The next year, the Maine Medical Society was incorporated, which embraced seventy of the principal physicians in the State, among whom were Doctors Ammi R. Mitchell, of North Yarmouth, Rose, Coffin, Benj. Vaughan, Mann, Tappan, Stockbridge, Cony, Emerson, Folsom, Hitchcock, Parker, Prescott, Lincoln, Weed, Snell, Griswold, Burleigh, Chandler—men who would have conferred honor upon any commonwealth, which could have ranked them among its citizens.

The next year, this Historical Society was incorporated, consisting of forty-nine members, including the Gov. of the State, the Pres. of Bowdoin College, the judges of the Supreme Court, and other prominent men of the State, of whom sixteen only are now living. The Society was organized in April, 1822, and Albion K. Parris, then Governor of the State, was elected President. At this time, but little interest was taken in historical studies among us. Our people were so much absorbed in their material occupations, and there were so few, who with surplus capital, possessed any inclination toward literature, in any of its branches, that literary and historical pursuits were quite neglected. I think no historical work, nor any other of literary pretensions, had, previous to this time, been published by any citizen of Maine, excepting some sermons, occasional addresses and Green-

leaf's Ecclesiastical Sketches, a valuable work published in 1821. The same year, Mr. Freeman published, in duodecimo, extracts from the Rev. Mr. Smith's journal, with interesting and useful statistics. Gov. Sullivan, in 1795, had published his history of Maine, but although a native of the State, he had moved to Boston.* In 1829, Moses Greenleaf issued his laborious work, the statistics of Maine, in connection with his valuable map. This was followed next year, by Mr. Folsom's history of Saco and Biddeford, containing the result of much careful research and preserving many valuable facts, which otherwise would have been lost to history. In 1831, this Society published its first volume of transactions, which embraced the history of several towns, and other exceedingly valuable papers, among which were extracts from Gov. Lincoln's MSS, on the Indian language and Catholic missions; a journal of the expedition across Maine to Quebec in 1775, by Colonel Montressor, with General Arnold's letters; and original documents relating to the early history of the State — all prefaced by a beautiful introductory chapter from the classical pen of Judge Ware.

The next year appeard Mr. Williamson's history of the State, a work prepared with great labor and unwearied research, and which rescued from destruction most copious materials relating to our early settlements, and to the political and physical condition of our territory.

These efforts contributed to draw attention to historical studies, and resulted in the production of town histories, and an increased interest in similar subjects, until the public mind became fully awakened to the importance of tracing

* A brief history of Belfast, by Messrs. Abbott & White, had been published, and a short account of York, in the 3d vol, of the Mass. Hist. Col., and the Rev. Mr. Cogswell, of Saco, had furnished a sketch of that place in 1815, for the same collections.

out and bringing to light the incidents, trials, hardships and successes of the early movements of civilization on this continent. And now, the study and development of our history and antiquities have become leading and favorite pursuits among our people.

Our first volume has been followed by three others, containing matter of great interest to the students of our history, and creditable to the Society: the third volume was published in 1853, the fourth in 1855, and the fifth will be published before the expiration of another year, containing the first printed edition of valuable documents relating to the early settlements between the Kennebec and the Penobscot rivers, which have recently been discovered in the State Department of New York. These are drawn from the records of the Duke of York's Province of Cornwall between the years 1664 the year of the Grant, and 1692, when it was incorporated with Massachusetts under its new charter, a period during which our annals of that region had been very defective.

We are still quite deficient in the history of our ancient towns which have materials of the deepest interest to the antiquarian. We have nothing from Kittery and York, our earliest settlements, fields that would well repay a careful gleaning; nothing yet from Brunswick, an old and interesting locality, although we know that our indefatigable friend and member, McKeen, has gathered rich and copious materials for a perfect history of the place; nothing from Castine and that large territory east of the Penobscot river, which for many years was under the rule of the French, and calls loudly for an historical explorer.

Few States, we may venture to assert, have so broad a field for interesting historical inquiry, as Maine. Her early

colonists were far from being homogeneous; no State less so. She acknowledges among her earliest settlers, English, German, Dutch and French, who all contributed to colonize and settle different parts of our coast, and of whom traces still remain. The English took possession of all the western part of the State from Piscataqua river to the Kennebec. Between the Kennebec and Penobscot, the French and English claimed, and ultimately held, jurisdiction, but the occupants were principally a combination of Dutch, German and English. East of the Penobscot, the French held exclusive possession under the Indian name of Norembegua, and afterwards, the French, of Acadie, until its union with Massachusetts in 1692, when Governor Phipps took possession of the country. The different parts have also borne different names; the western, while jointly held by Mason and Gorges, received the name of Laconia; after the division, in which it fell to Gorges, he gave it the name of New Somersetshire, from his own county in England: when he obtained a confirmation of his title from Charles I, in 1639 with powers of government, he gave it the name of Maine, in compliment to the Queen, a daughter of France, who held the Province of Mayne in that country as her dowry. A portion of this territory lying between Cape Porpus and Cape Elizabeth, granted to John Dye and others in 1631, fell into the hands of Alexander Rigby, in 1643, who established a government over it and gave it the name of Lygonia. Between the Kennebec and Penobscot, the country has borne the various names of Pemaquid, County of Cornwall, New Castle, and the Duke of York's Province. After the union, under the charter of 1691, the whole State was embraced in the County of York, and so continued until 1760, when it was divided into the three Counties of York, Cumberland and Lincoln.

Our immigrants did not, like those of the other parts of New England, come here for the enjoyment of religious liberty, but for speculation — to fish and trade, and for a larger verge than they could have at home. The English settlers were generally conformists, their connection with the Church of England was not dissolved, and they continued to preserve that form of worship until they were overwhelmed by the superior power of their Puritan neighbor, Massachusetts. The French were Catholics, and maintained firmly their own peculiar forms, under the guidance and control of the powerful and enduring priests. The Germans were Lutherans, whose object was to occupy the vacant soil and improve their temporal condition; they were accompanied and followed by their faithful pastors, whose sterling principles and rigid doctrines made a durable impression upon the sound and rugged minds of their flocks, which has remained almost untinged by surrounding heresies to the present day. There are diversities and wildly interesting materials, to give a romantic hue to the pages of the philosophic historian, or point the story of the novelist and poet. Some of them, like the Acadian Spoliation, have found an eloquent tongue in the Evangeline of our native poet:—

> Waste are those pleasant farms, and the farmers forever departed!
> Scattered like dust and leaves, when the blasts of October
> Seize them, and whirl them aloft, and sprinkle them far o'er the ocean.
> Naught but tradition remains of the beautiful village of Grand-Pre.

It seems to me appropriate to this occasion, and I therefore propose to devote the remainder of my address to brief notices of the former Presidents of this Society, all of whom have been connected in a greater or less degree with the conduct and progress of our civil affairs. And first, let me speak of the dead, Chief Justice Mellen, Stephen

Longfellow: and last, of our recently departed member, Albion K. Parris.

Mr. Mellen was the eighth of the nine children of the Rev. John Mellen of Sterling, Massachusetts, and was born in that town, October 11, 1764. His mother was Rebecca Prentiss, daughter of the Rev. John Prentiss of Lancaster, from which family his christian name was derived. His grandfather was Thomas Mellen, a farmer of Hopkinton in Massachusetts. His father graduated at Harvard College, in 1741, and having served long and faithfully in the ministerial office at Sterling and Hanover, in the Old Colony, he died at Reading, Massachusetts, in 1807, aged 85.

His elder brother Henry and himself, were fitted for college by their father, and entered Harvard together in 1780, from which they took their degree in 1784, in the same class with John Abbott, long a professor in Bowdoin College, Silas Lee, a distinguished lawyer in Wiscasset, and others who have taken honorable positions in society. Henry, brilliant, witty, an attribute of the Prentiss stock, somewhat wayward, but beloved by all who knew him, established himself in the profession of law at Dover New Hampshire, where he died in 1809. Prentiss spent a year after his graduation, in Barnstable, as a private tutor in the family of Joseph Otis; he pursued his legal studies in the same place, with the eccentric lawyer, Shearjashub Bourne, and was admitted to the Bar in Taunton in October, 1788. On that occasion, in conformity with an ancient custom, he treated the Court and Bar with half a pail of punch. His own version of this treat was as follows, "according to the fashion of that day, on the great occasion, I treated the judge and all the lawyers with about half a pail of *punch*, which *treating aforesaid* was commonly called "the colt's tail."

Judge Thacher of Maine, Judge Hall of Vermont and Daniel Davis, long settled in Portland, were also students in Mr. Bourne's office. He felt great pride in Solicitor Davis, who was a native of Barnstable, and he used to say, "I took *special pains with Daniel.*

Mr. Mellen commenced practice in his native town, but removed in eight months to Bridgewater, where he continued until November, 1791. Not meeting with the success he desired, he again changed his domicil, and spent the winter and spring with his brother Henry in Dover. From that place, in July, 1792, he removed to Biddeford, in this State, by the advice of his firm and constant friend, the late Judge Thacher, who was then a Representative in Congress from Maine. Here he commenced that sphere of successful and honorable practice, which placed him at the head of the Bar in Maine, and at the head of its highest judicial tribunal.

His beginning in Biddeford was of the most humble kind, and may give an idea of what professional men had to encounter in that day. He thus described it to me: "I opened my office in one of old Squire Hooper's front chambers, in which were then arranged *three beds* and half a table and one chair. My clients had the privilege of sitting on some of the beds. In this room I slept, as did also sundry travelers frequently, the house being a tavern."

What his library was may be inferred from this humble office apparatus. The population of Biddeford did not then exceed eleven hundred, and that of the whole county, which embraced a large part of Oxford, was about twenty-eight thousand; all served by three attornies, viz: Dudley Hubbard of Berwick and Messrs. Thacher and Mellen at Biddeford. There was then one term of the Common Pleas Court held at Biddeford, and one term of

the Supreme Court at York, for the year, in that county, and one term of the Supreme Court in each of the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, for jury trials, which was all the favor the highest judicial tribunal was then permitted to extend to this District. The *law* term for Maine was held in Boston, and the records kept there. The whole population of the State was then about one hundred thousand. Gov. Sullivan had formerly lived and practiced in Biddeford but had removed to Boston, and was at the time of which we are speaking, Attorney General of Massachusetts.

From 1804 until his appointment as Chief Justice in 1820, Mr. Mellen practiced in every County in the State, and was engaged in every prominent cause. In 1806, his practice in Cumberland being extensive, he removed to Portland, where his professional engagements had become numerous and where a very large commercial business was transacted. His competitors were men of high legal attainments, of great natural abilities, and able and eloquent as advocates. Daniel Davis had just before removed to Boston; there remained, the accomplished Parker, afterward Chief Justice of Massachusetts, the patient and laborious Chase, the scholarly Symmes, both of whom, by their untimely death, opened a wider field for the new comers; the grave and cautious Whitman, afterwards Chief Justice of Maine; the sensible and acute Longfellow, and the ardent Hopkins; all of them residents of Portland, and ornaments of the Cumberland Bar. He also found able rivals in other parts of the State, in the adroit and eloquent Wilde, late of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, the sagacious Silas Lee, and Orr, shrewd, skilful and prompt.

To take the lead among such men, in their chosen profession, required and proved Mr. Mellen to have possessed

more than ordinary powers. It was often said previous to the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, that the Bar of Cumberland was the best in the Commonwealth. And certainly that must have been a Bar of extraordinary quality, which could at one time boast of lawyers superior to Parker, Symmes, Mellen, Chase, Whitman, Longfellow, Emery, and the juniors Orr, Fessenden, Greenleaf, Davies, who came in as the others passed to the Bench or to a higher tribunal.

At the Bar, Mr. Mellen's manner was fervid and impassioned; his countenance lighted up with brilliancy and intelligence; his perceptions were rapid and his mind leaped to conclusions to which other minds more slowly travelled, and as a consequence he was sometimes obliged to yield his suddenly formed opinions, to more mature reflection. On one occasion Chief Justice Parsons remarked to him when he was ardently pressing a point, "you are aware Mr. Mellen, that there are authorities on the other side; yes, yes, your honor, but they are all in my favor."

He identified himself with the cause of his client, and never for a moment neglected it, or failed to improve every opportunity in his opponent's weakness or errors, to secure a victory. His voice was musical, his person tall and imposing, and his manner fascinating.

His life was not entirely absorbed by his profession. In 1808 and 1809, and again in 1817, he was chosen a member of the Executive Council in Massachusetts; and in 1816 an elector at large for President. In 1817, while he held the office of Councillor, he was chosen a Senator in Congress from Massachusetts, with Harrison Gray Otis for his colleague. This situation he held until Maine was organized as a separate state, when in July, 1820, he was appointed Chief

Justice of its Supreme Court. The same year, he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from both Harvard and Bowdoin Colleges.

He continued to discharge the laborious duties of Chief Justice with singular fidelity and ability until October, 1834, when having attained the age of seventy, he became constitutionally disqualified for the office. On the bench his thorough knowledge of practice, his familiarity with decided cases, and his quick perception of the points and merits of a case, were peculiarly valuable at a time when the new State was formimg its sytem of jurisprudence, and establishing rules for its future government. The industry and ability with which he discharged his arduous and important duties, while at the head of our highest court, appears forcibly written in the first eleven volumes of the Maine Reports; in the first nine of which he found an able exponent in his friend, the accomplished Greenleaf. Of the sixty-nine cases in the first volume of Greenleaf, in which formal reports are given, the opinions in fifty of them were drawn by the Chief Justice. A larger proportion still, appears in the second volume, where of the eighty-four formal opinions, he drew seventy-four of them. And this industry and application is apparent through the whole series, in the last of which, second of Fairfield, of the one hundred and six opinions, he prepared fifty-five of them. Nor were those decisions of a light or hasty kind; many of them involved points of the highest importance, requiring profound study, nice discrimination, and keen analysis. It may not be improper to say that in these opinions the learned Chief Justice did not fall behind his high reputation as a lawyer nor of the elevated position which he occupied. And it is gratifying to be able to say that our reports were cited at that period, in other States, with great respect.

Never were stricter integrity, nor a more earnest desire to render exact justice in every case, carried to the bench: and no judge ever performed his duties more conscientiously. If any criticism may be permitted on a judicial course so pure and able, it might be said, that there were times when the judge's patience gave way before the tedious prolixity of some advocates, who were unwilling to give the court credit for a knowledge of the elementary principles of law; or where witnesses were pertinaciously bent on telling all their experiences before coming to the point in hand. In such cases he would sometimes be obnoxious to the censure of the worthy Fuller, according to the canon of his "good judge;" of whom he says, he is "patient and attentive in the hearing the pleading on both sides; and hearkens to the witnesses, though tedious. He may give a waking testimony who hath but a dreamy utterance; and many people must be impertinent before they can be pertinent; and cannot give evidence about a hen, but first they must begin with it in the egg. All which our judge is contented to hearken to." But we cannot say this always of our good Chief Justice; he could not sit still till this egg was hatched. In another aspect he however, amply met this worthy's requirement: "he nips those lawyers, who under a pretense of kindness to lend a witness some words, give him *new* matter, yea, clean contrary to what he intended."

On his retirement from the bench, the Cumberland Bar addressed a letter to Judge Mellen, through a committee of its most respected members, expressive of the high sense it entertained of his services and merits, as an upright Judge, and of his qualities as a man, to which tribute of affection and respect, he responded with deep sensibility.

In 1838, Judge Mellen was appointed by the executive of

Maine at the head of a commission to revise and codify the public statutes of the State, which had accumulated to nearly one thousand chapters, of various, and in some instances, of inconsistent provisions. He earnestly engaged in this task with his colleagues, the Hon. Samuel E. Smith and Ebenezer Everett, Esq., and submitted their report on the first of January, 1840, embracing the whole body of the public statute law in one hundred and seventy-eight chapters under twelve titles. This was adopted by the Legislature, and constituted the first volume of the Revised Statutes.

This was the last public service of our estimable citizen who had now passed the seventy fifth year of his age.

But our portrait would not be complete without the lights which come from his private and domestic life. And this was as free from stain, as was the ermine of his judicial office. He married Miss Sally Hudson of Hartford, Conn. in May, 1795, whose acquaintance he made while practicing law in Bridgewater, and whose musical talents first attracted his attention. He described his engagement in the following characteristic language in a letter to me, "I left Bridgewater in 1791, having there first seen and fallen in love with my present wife, and *and told her a piece of my mind.*'

She was an amiable and accomplished woman, with whom he lived in domestic happiness over forty-three years. She died in 1838, aged seventy-one years. By her he had six children, all born in Biddeford; of whom three daughters only survive. The oldest son, Grenville, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1818, is well known as a literary man, flowering out from the legal profession: he died in 1841, at the age of forty-two. His son Frederick was educated at Bowdoin, from which he graduated in 1825; he

prepared himself for the practice of law, but was seduced from it by the soft impeachment of art; he devoted himself to painting, but died in 1834 at the age of thirty, before accomplishing his high aspirations.

Judge Mellen calmly and serenely yielded up his life on the last day of the year 1840, in the midst of his own winter, having passed through seventy-six years of a busy, well spent life; firm in the conviction of an approval by the great Judge of quick and dead.

The Cumberland bar erected a solid and durable marble monument to his memory, with suitable inscriptions, in the cemetery in Portland, over his remains.

I believe that the remark he made in his last sickness, to be perfectly true, "that he had always endeavored to do what he believed to be right." He was a religious man, a devoted attendant upon public worship, conscientious in the performance of duty and faithful in all the relations of life. His natural temperament was cheerful and gay; full of wit and anecdote, fond of society, which he enjoyed to the last, and in which his cheerful and benevolent countenance was always acceptable.

He was a man of warm imagination and fine literary taste. He early inclined to cultivate a familiarity with the muses, and like his cotemporary Judge Story, made poetry the sport of his idle hours from his earliest to his latest age.

The cultivation of poetry is not inconsistent with the severe pursuits of the legal science. Even my Lord Coke, who in the mind of the professional student is the personification of dryness, often quoted from the poets, and observes, "It standeth well with the gravity of our lawyers to cite verses." Every body too, remembers Pope's praise of Mansfield, "How sweet an Ovid was in Murray lost." And

our own days have witnessed in the eminent English lawyer Sir Thomas Noon Talford, the most elaborate and polished of legal poets. The following poetical *jeu d' esprit* on the law of pauper settlement, from an old poet, may be quoted in this connection as a true legal maxim in verse:—

A woman having a settlement
Married a man with none:
The question was, he being dead,
If that *she* had was gone.
Quoth Sir John Pratt, "the settlement,
Suspended doth remain,
Living the husband, but him dead
It doth revive again.
Chorus of puisne Judges.
Living the husband, but him dead
It doth revive again."

The calmness and patience with which our lamented friend bore his last sickness, gave ample testimony of the sincerity of his faith and the firmness of his religious principles. At this trying period, he frequently uttered expressions of his entire submission to the divine will: impatient to be relieved from the burden of the flesh, yet perfectly resigned to wait. At one time he said, "I seem to be suspended between heaven and earth: the body clings to its native element, while the spirit struggles to be free." At another time he said, "I can't let go, the thread of life is too strong." It broke at length, and the spirit ascended to its congenial home.

And now in the language of Fuller's "Holy State" "we leave our good judge to receive a just reward of his integrity from the Judge of judges, at the great assize of the world."

I now come to speak of our respected friend, Stephen Longfellow, the wise counsellor, the able advocate, the honest man. Born March 23, 1776, in Gorham, to which place his father and grandfather had fled on the destruction o

Falmouth, by the British, in the previous October. His early days were spent in that town, on the farm of his father, and in studies necessary to prepare him for his future occupation. Sometimes in his addresses to the jury, he adroitly drew illustrations from his farmer's apprenticeship, to point his argument or secure their favorable attention. I once had great fear of losing a case by one of these apt allusions, in speaking of his carrying butter to market in Portland.

He was descended in the fourth degree from William Longfellow, the first of the name who came to this country and settled in the Byefield Parish, in the old town of Newbury, and who married there in 1678, Anne Sewall; his father, grandfather and great grandfather were all named Stephen. His grandfather the first immigrant to Maine, graduated at Harvard College, in 1742 and came to Portland, then Falmouth, as the Grammar School Master in 1745. He filled many offices of honor and trust, and exercised an important influence in the affairs of the town and county. He was fifteen years Grammar School Master; twenty-three years Parish Clerk; twenty-two years Town Clerk, and fifteen years Register of Probate and Clerk of the Judicial Courts; several of which offices he held at the same time. His son Stephen held the office of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1797 to 1811, and died much respected in 1824 at the age of seventy-four.

His son, the subject of our notice, entered Harvard College in 1794, at the age of eighteen, and at once took an honorable position with the government and his College companions, by the frankness of his manners, and his uniformely correct deportment. I have the privelege of offering the satisfactory testimony of his associates concerning this period of his life. His classmate, Humphrey Devereux,

now living at Salem, in a letter, says of him, "On entering College, Longfellow was in advance in years of many of us, and his mind and judgment of course more matured. He had a well balanced mind, no part so prominent as to overshadow the rest. It was not rapid in its movements, nor brilliant in its course, but its conclusions were sound and correct. He was inclined to think, compare and weigh closely; he did not soar into the regions of fancy and abstraction, but kept on the *terra firma* of practical common sense. In his habits, he was studious and exemplary, free from every contaminating influence. In a class which had its full share of talent and scholarship, he held a very reputable rank among its high divisions, and shared its honors in the assignment of the College government, and in the estimation of his classmates. In his temperament he was bright and cheerful, and engaged freely in the social pleasures of friendly meetings and literary associations. His manners then, as in later life, were courteous, polished and simple; springing from a native politeness or a generous, manly feeling. He was born a gentleman, and was a general favorite of his class."

The venerable Daniel Appleton White, of Salem, two years his senior in College, and now enjoying a serene and dignified old age, writes, "Mr. Longfellow was a general favorite with his classmates: the Rev. Dr. Channing used to speak in high terms of his excellent classmate: he said to me in one of his eulogiums, that he possessed great energy of character." He again says, "I never knew a man more free from everything offensive to good taste or good feeling; even to his dress and personal appearance, all about him was attractive. In his deportment and manners, he was uniformly courteous and amiable. He was evidently a well-

bred gentleman when he left the paternal mansion for the University. He seemed to breathe an atmosphere of purity, as his natural element, while his bright intelligence, buoyant spirits and social warmth, diffused a sunshine of joy, that made his presence always gladsome."

These high tributes to the youthful character of Mr. Longfellow, were fully sustained in his riper years. He graduated in 1798 in the class with Dr. Channing, Judge Story, Professor Sidney Willard, Dr. Tuckerman, and other distinguished scholars, of whom but seven or eight in a class of forty-eight, now remain.

On leaving College he immediately entered on the study of law with Salmon Chase, of Portland, who was then engaged in the most extensive practice of any lawyer at the Cumberland Bar: and was admitted to practice in 1801. He established himself at Portland, where the field was already occupied by seven lawyers in a population of thirty-eight hundred. These prior occupants of this field, were John Frothingham, who commenced practice there in 1778, and was for a while the only lawyer in the County. Daniel Davis, a polished gentleman and popular advocate, William Symmes, a good scholar and lawyer, but of very formal manners; Isaac Parker, afterwards Chief Justice of Massachusetts; all these were from the old Bay State; Salmon Chase and George E. Vaughan, from New Hampsire, and James D. Hopkins, a native of England, but whose parents immigrated to Portland soon after the peace of 1783. There were but two other members belonging to the Cumberland Bar at that time, who were Ezekiel Whitman, then practicing at New Gloucester, and Peter O. Alden, at Brunswick. Of these not one survives, but the venerable Judge Whitman, who was born in the same month and year with Mr. Long-

fellow, and is now enjoying, in his native town, East Bridgewater, Massachusetts, a serene old age, the ripe fruit of temperance, self-control and a virtuous life. The County then contained apopulation of about thirty-two thousand.

Nothwithstanding this array of able counsellors, Mr. Longfellow, fearless of the competition, earnestly engaged in the struggle which such a rivalship exacted. The forensic efforts and encounters were conducted with more regard to courtesy and the dignity of the Bar at that period than at the present time. The members of the Bar and the Judges on the Bench, carried into their official deportment the dignified and somewhat formal manners of the old school. Levity or vulgarity could not exist in the presence of that personification of dignity, the learned Chief Justice Dana, nor would rudeness or degrading personalities be tolerated by his more learned, but less polished successor, Chief Justice Parsons, and his associates, the pure-minded Sewall and the stern and reserved Sedgwick.

Parker, Davis, Chase and Whitman, could not do otherwise than welcome to their association, a brother, kindred to them in all elevated qualities. Mr. Longfellow soon secured a successful and profitable practice, and took a commanding position at the Bar, by the urbanity of his conduct, his legal abilty, and the integrity of principles. One of his cotemporaries at the Bar, recently said to me, "Longfellow had a fine legal mind, he was industrious, attentive, courteous, and got into business at once. His first address to the jury was plausible and ingenious, and almost as good as any one he afterwards made." On the death of Chase and Symmes, and the removal of Judge Parker to Boston, all which occurred in 1806 and early in 1807, he became one of the leaders in the practice, which, as he advanced, continually

increased, until its accumulated weight bore too heavily upon his over-taxed powers; and he was admonished by a fearful attack of epilepsy, to withdraw for a while from the excitements of business and its overwhelming cares. He gradually, although most reluctantly quitted a field, which had been to him a source of happiness and fame, and on which he had conferred dignity and honor.

No man more surely gained the confidence of all who approached him, or held it firmer; and those who knew him best, loved him most. In the management of his causes, he went with zeal and directness of purpose to every point which could sustain it: there was no travelling out of the record with him, nor a wandering away from the line of his argument after figures of speech or fine rhetoric, but he was plain, straight forward and effective in his appeals to the jury, and by his frank and candid manner won them to his cause. And I may truly offer him as an illustration of Fuller's "good advocate," whom he thus describes, "He makes not a Trojan siege of a suit, but seeks to bring it to a set battle in a speedy trial. In pleading, he shoots fairly at the head of the cause, and having fastened, no frowns nor favors shall make him let go his hold." But with all this, although firm and unyielding when he believed himself to be right, he never forgot the duties of a gentleman and a christian, nor lost his suavity of manners in the ardor and bravery of action. "*Quando ullum invenient parem?*"

A man of such estimable qualities, was not permitted to give his whole time to his profession: the people demanded the exercise of his eminent ability and practical talent for their service; and in 1814, a year of great excitement and danger to the republic from the war with England,—a large fleet hanging upon our coast, and a well disciplined army

menacing our northern frontier, — he was sent to the legislature of Massachusetts, and while there, he was chosen a member of the celebrated Hartford Convention, in company with Judge Wilde, from this State, George Cabot, Harrison Gray Otis and other distinguished Federalits from Massachusetts and the other New England States. In 1816, he was chosen an Elector of President, and with Prentiss Mellen and the other Electors of Massachusetts, threw his vote for the eminent statesman, Rufus King, a native of Maine. Mr. Monroe, the candidate of the Democratic party was elected for this, his first term, by a majority of one hundred and nine votes; for his second term, from 1817 to 1821, he received every electoral vote but one, which was thrown for John Quincy Adams, by Gov. Plumer of New Hampshire.

This was the era of good feeling, or as John Randolph called it, the "era of indifference." Political harmony prevailed, such as had not existed since the days of Washington: the old Federal party, which had embraced many of the wisest and best men of the country, whose names are now canonized, then ceased to exist; all parties united to render a sincere and hearty support to the federal constitution; opposition to which, in the early days of the government, had created the anti-federal party.

In 1822, Mr. Longfellow was chosen to the eighteenth Congress, the closing two years of Mr. Monroe's second administration, where he was associated with Lincoln of Maine Webster of Massachusetts, Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Clay of Kentucky, Barbour and Randolph of Virginia, McLane of Delaware, Forsyth of Georgia, Houston of Tennesee, Livingston of Louisiana — Henry Clay being Speaker of the House, John Chandler and John Holmes being Senators

from Maine. Having served out his term faithfully and well, and by his voice and vote, resisting the general and profuse expenditure of public money for indiscriminate internal improvements, he took leave of political life, which had no charm for him. The remainder of his years, so far as his health permitted, he gave to his profession; how well he served it, the first sixteen volumes of the Massachusetts Reports, and the first twelve of the Maine Reports, extending through a period of more than thirty years, bear ample testimony; they exhibit his ability as a learned jurist, and his skill as an ingenious dialectitian. In 1828, he received from Bowdoin College the honorable and merited distinction of Doctor of Laws.

In his domestic life, Mr. Longfellow was as exemplary as he was able in public and professional relations. In January, 1804, he married Zilpah, daughter of General Peleg Wadsworth, of Portland, with whom he lived in uninterrupted happiness for more than forty-five years. She was a woman of fine manners, and of great moral worth. By her he had eight children; four sons and four daughters. The sons are destined to transmit the name with new luster to posterity, in lines divergent from the parental profession, — poetry, divinity and science. The elder surviving son, by his sweet and eloquent verse, has not only made his name vocal throughout his own land, but has found genial echoes, on the other shores of the ocean, and his numbers will be repeated in distant lands and times, like the songs of the rapt bards that have floated down to us through the centuries, which have preserved nought else.

In all the relations of private and public life, Mr. Longfellow was a model man; kind and affectionate in his family,

prompt and efficient in business, courteous uniformly, ready with money or service, whenever properly required, and filling large places in benevolent and religious institutions — his death was deeply mourned — and the people grieved most of all that they should see his face no more.

A life so adorned, could not have been withdrawn from its sphere of usefulness, without making a palpable void; and I only express the universal sentiment that was felt at his departure, that an able, upright and Christian gentleman had gone; one to whom may be applied language used in regard to an eminent English lawyer, "that he cast honor upon his honorable profession, and sought dignity, not from the ermine or the mace, but from a straight path and a spotless life."

The Bar, at a very full meeting, took an honorable and appropriate notice of the death of their deceased brother. Professor Greenleaf, the particular friend and admirer of Mr. Longfellow, and who for many years practised with him at the Cumberland Bar, in reply to a letter from another friend, inviting him to attend the meeting, said, "Dear Brother Davies: Many thanks for your kind letter and kind remembrance. It warms and cheers me. I am strongly tempted to go down to the Supreme Court in November, especially as the meeting you anticipate will draw out the *quæ extant* of the Cumberland Bar, as it was in our youth. We shall see Whitman and Potter, possibly Southgate; but where are Orr, and Mellen and Hopkins, and the rest of that day, and now at last, Longfellow? It will be a scene of lights and shadows."

I am forcibly reminded of the shadows, by the sudden withdrawal from our daily observation, and from earth, of our first president, Mr. Parris. At the time I drew the

sketch of his life for this occasion, he was in the full enjoyment of all his powers; now they have ceased their exercise forever, and we have just followed his remains to the sepulcher of his fathers. We bow submissively to that decree which acknowledges no distinction upon earth.

Governor Parris, our first President, held the office but one year; he was then Governor of the State, and his official duties demanded his exclusive attention.

He was born in Hebron, in this State, January 19, 1778. his father, Samuel Parris, of whom he was the only child, was a native of the Old Colony in Massachusetts, and after the war of the Revolution, in which he served as an officer, he established himself at Hebron, which at the time was an unincorporated plantation. He held the office of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Oxford County, several years: was repeatedly chosen a representative from Hebron, and in 1812 he was chosen by the Federal party one of the Electors of President, and united with the other Electors of that State in casting the vote of Massachusetts for DeWitt Clinton. He died in Washington at the residence of his son, September 10, 1847, aged ninety-two.*

*The family was descended from Thomas Parris, of London, who had four sons living in London in 1660, viz: John, Thomas, Samuel and Martin. John was a minister of the Reformed Church at Ugborough near Plymouth, England. He had one son named Thomas, who came to New England in 1683, having set sail from Topsham, in Devonshire, on the 28th of June. He settled first at Long Island, N. Y., where he married. From there he moved to Boston, where his wife died. He then moved to Pembroke, Mass., where he married a Miss Rogers, and had four sons and three daughters, and died in 1752. His son Thomas was born May 8, 1701, O. S. He married Hannah Gannett, of Scituate, Mass., by whom he had four sons. He died Sept. 7, 1786. His son Benjamin, born August 27, 1731, O. S., married Millicent Keith, of Easton, Mass., July 4, 1753, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. He lived in Pembroke, Mass., and was much employed as an instructor of youth: he died November 18, 1815. Samuel, the eldest son of Benjamin, was born August 31, 1755: he entered the army in 1775, and performed much service both by land and sea. On retiring from the army he married Sarah Pratt, of Middleborough, Mass., by whom he had one child only, viz: Albion Keith Parris.

Governor Parris worked on his father's farm until he was fourteen years old, when he began to prepare for College, and entered in advanced standing at Dartmouth in 1803. He graduated in 1806, in the class with William Barrows and General Fessenden, of our State, Judge Harvey, of N. H., and Judge Fletcher, of Mass. He soon after commenced the study of law with Chief Justice Whitman, who was then in practice at New Gloucester, and who next winter removed to Portland. He pursued his studies with great dilligence and was admitted to the Cumberland Bar in September, 1809. He immediately established himself in the practice at Paris in the County of Oxford; from that period his course was one of uninterrupted success.

In 1811 he was appointed County Attorney for Oxford. In 1813 he was elected to the General Court in Massachusetts from Paris. In 1814 he was chosen a Senator for the Counties of Oxford and Somerset, and in November, 1814, he was elected to the fourteenth Congress of the United States, for the years 1815 and '16, and again to the fifteenth Congress: and while holding this office of Representative to Congress, he was appointed Judge of the District Court of the United States for Maine, in 1818, at the age of thirty, as successor of the venerable Judge Sewall, who had held the office from the organization of the government.

On receiving this appointment he moved to Portland, from which place, the next year, 1819, he was chosen a member of the Convention to form a Constitution for the new State, then seeking admission into the Union. This body was composed of the most able and prominent men in the State, over which William King was called to preside. Judge Parris took an active part in its proceedings and debates, and was a member of the Committee which drafted the Con-

stitution, Mr. Holmes being Chairman. Among the members of this important Committee, were Messrs Dane, of Wells, Whitman, of Portland, Gen. Wingate and Chandler, Judge Bridge and Judge Dana. Mr. Parris was also appointed Treasurer by the Convention.

On the adoption of the Constitution, and the admission of the State into the Union, of which it became the twenty-second member, Mr. Parris, then holding the office of District Judge, was appointed Judge of Probate of Cumberland County, under the new dynasty, succeeding the venerable Samuel Freeman, who had held the office sixteen years as successor of Judge Gorham. While in the enjoyment of these honorable and responsible trusts, public opinion designated him for the highest office in the State as successor to Governor King, who having been appointed one of the Commissioners on Spanish Claims, resigned the office. This nomination was not unanimously accepted by the Democratic party, some of whom preferred Gen. Joshua Wingate, and a triangular contest resulted of considerable harshness and asperity. Governor Parris was elected, and entered upon the discharge of the duties, before he had quite attained the age of thirty-three years, and was continued in the office by successive elections, five years. In his annual message in 1826, he peremptorily declined another nomination. Governor Parris administered the government with ability and faithfulness: it was a period of repose; there were no exciting questions to irritate the public mind. The most important subjects calling for attention, were those relating to the common property owned with Massachusetts, and the disputed northeastern boundary. The latter subject, was, toward the close of his administration, becoming of serious import, and had begun to create alarm as to the final result.

The interests of education, religious culture and temperance, were often and earnestly urged by him upon the attention of the Legislature, and received respectful consideration. In 1825 Lafayette visited the State, where his reception was most cordial, and where he found some of his old companions in arms to welcome their illustrious ally and friend. He was warmly greeted and entertained by the Governor.

But Governor Parris was not permitted to enjoy repose from official life. The last year of his administration had not expired when he was elected to the United States Senate in place of John Holmes, whose term of service ended on the 3d of March, 1827.

But he had scarcely become familiar with his new position, when in June 1828, he was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of our State, in the room of Judge Preble, who resigned the office on his appointment as minister to the Hague. Judge Parris having been for several years withdrawn from practice, and never having had much experience in the routine of the profession, on account of his early and steady employment in the public service, found himself somewhat rusty in regard to the decided cases and the progress of legal science. But with his accustomed industry and facility, he applied himself to the study of the reports and the learned elementary treatises, until he thoroughly qualified himself for the arduous and important duties of the Bench; and it is but justice to say, that he received unqualified testimony from the Bar and the community, of the ability, promptness and impartiality which graced his judicial life.

He was not however destined to grow old upon the Bench, for he had hardly ripened his judicial powers and opened the way to judicial fame, before he was transferred,

I cannot say to a higher sphere — but to one of more emolument and ease. In 1836, by the favor of Mr. Van Buren, he found an honorable position and a salary of three thousand dollars a year, as Second Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States. This office he held thirteen years until 1849. He soon after returned to Portland, of which city he was chosen Mayor in 1852, declining a second nomination. This is the last public office he held, and for the remainder of his life he reposed quietly upon his many and well won laurels.

This career of public duty continued through a period of thirty-six years, never for an hour interrupted, is extraordinary, not to say unparalleled in recent times—offices too of the highest importance and responsibility. A member of Congress at the age of twenty-eight, Judge of the United States Court at thirty, Govenor at thirty-three, prove him to have early acquired an unusual popularity. Without brilliant talents, or a large accumulation of knowledge, he proved himself equal to every office he was called to fill, and to every emergency which required his action. The secret of his success lay in his industry and close application to the duties of every office confided to him, his promptness and fidelity, his sagacity, his general suavity of manners and an easy adaptation of himself to every situation; in short, it may with truth be said of him, that he faithfully and acceptably filled all the offices, however varied their duties, to which he was successively called.

For several years previous to his death, he had been troubled with difficulty of breathing and sharp pains in the region of his heart, when making any considerable exertion; this increased the last year and terminated in his sudden death on the morning of February 11th last. The City

Council of Portland and the Bar of Cumberland, promptly expressed their sense of their own and the public loss, and their sympathy on the occasion, and a general and honorable sentiment went up from the press of Maine, and from our citizens throughout the State in honor of this faithful public man.

In 1810, Gov. Parris married Sarah, eldest daughter of the Rev. Levi Whitman, of Wellfleet, Massachusetts, who with three daughters and one son survive him.

In speaking of our three departed Presidents, I am not unmindful of the classical injunction "*nihil mortuis nisi bonum;*" but in describing the distinguished men, upon whom perhaps, I have dwelt longer than may have been agreeable to you, I could not, if I had a desire, be disobedient to it.

I cannot better take leave of this part of my subject, than by applying the language of Chief Justice Crewe, in the De Vere case, in the time of Charles I, of England: "Time has his revolutions; there must be a period and an end to all temporal things — *finis rerum* — an endof names and dignities, and whatsoever is *terrene;* and why not of De Vere? For where is Bohun? where is Mowbray? where is Mortimer? Nay, which is more and most of all — where is Plantaganet? They are entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality. And yet, let the name and dignity of De Vere stand, so long as it pleaseth God."

Having thus paid a melancholy visit to the tombs of my honored predecessors, I must now turn to the revered and honored living, and offer to them the tribute due to their services and virtues.

Our second President, the successor of Gov. Parris was the Rev. William Allen; he held the office from 1823 to 1827 inclusive.

President Allen was the son of the Rev. Thomas Allen, the first minister of Pittsfield in Massachusetts; his mother was Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Lee, first minister of Salisbury, Connecticut, and was a descendant of Governor Bradford in the fifth degree. His father graduated at Harvard College in 1762, was ordained in 1764, and died at the age of 67 in 1810. The subject of our notice was born in Pittsfield, January 2, 1784 and graduated at Harvard College in the celebrated class of 1802, which was larger and more distinguished than any which had previously issued from that venerable University.

On leaving College Mr. Allen commenced the study of theology with Dr. Pierce of Brookline, and at the same time taught school in that town. He finished his preparatory studies with his father and was licensed to preach by the Berkshire Association of 1804.

Soon after obtaining his license he made a journey to Niagara, preaching at various places, and among others at Buffalo. The whole of that country, now filled with cities and a cultivated population, was a wilderness; and Buffalo now numbering over sixty thousand inhabitants, had then but nineteen rude houses.

In December, 1804, Mr. Allen was appointed and entered on the office of Regent in Harvard College, as successor to Dr. Channing, and continued to occupy the situation until August, 1810. This office was not connected with the instruction of the College and was given to young men of good standing, to assist them to funds, and to furnish them with a residence in the College buildings, and opportunities for study; its duties being inconsiderable, merely to preserve order and watch over the deportment of students. He diligently improved the advantages which this situation

afforded, occasionally preaching in neighboring towns. It was during this propitious period that he prepared his first edition of the "American Biographical and Historical Dictinary," which was published in 1809. By this very useful work he gave important aid to students of American history, and quickened public feeling upon topics then much neglected, but in which now the people take a most lively interest. It was the first and largest work of the kind which had been published in the country: Belknap and Eliot only preceded it. A second edition was published in 1832, enlarged and much improved, containing more than eighteen hundred Biographical articles, exceeding by eleven hundred those contained in the first edition. I am happy to be able to say that the third edition of this valuable work is now in the press, containing more than seven thousand biographical notices.*

He closed his connection with the University by fulfiling the honorable appointment as orator to the *Phi Beta Kappa* Society, which occasion was doubly graced by a poem from Washington Alston. On the 10th of October, the same year, 1810, he was ordained pastor of the church in Pittsfield, as his father's successor, having previously declined an invitation to settle in Braintree.

In 1812, he married Maria Malleville Wheelock, daughter of John Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College, with whom he lived on most affectionate terms, until her death in 1828. To this amiable and accomplished lady, he devoted the opening and closing stanzas of his poem "Hoosatunnuk," commenced in 1826, but not published until 1856. The following stanza at the close of the poem, refers to his

*This edition is now issued from the press in two large octavo volumes.

wife, and will afford a specimen of the style of the work and of his affectionate regard for her.

> "How lovely was thy face when in the bloom
> Of youth it beamed upon my rapturous eye?
> How lovely when o'er past the mother's doom,
> It gazed upon thy babes so tenderly?
> No face — I've thought in many a blessed hour —
> Was framed like thine for sweetness and for power.

In 1816 the Legislature of New Hampshire, influenced as was supposed, by political considerations, passed an "Act to amend the Charter of Dartmouth College," by which its name was changed to Dartmouth University, and its powers materially altered. Under this act the old government of the institution was subverted and a new one appointed, at the head of which, Mr. Allen was placed as President of the University in 1817. The Trustees of the old College, established by charter in 1769, steadily resisted this proceeding, and commenced an action to test the constitutionality of the act of the Legislature. The case was carried by writ of error to the Supreme Court in Washington, and was there most ably and elaborately argued by Daniel Webster and Hopkinson for the plaintiffs, and John Holmes, and Mr. Wirt, the Attorney General, for the defendants, in 1819; and it was decided that the "Acts of the Legislature altering the Charter of Dartmouth College, were repugnant to the Constitution of the United States," all the Justices but Duval concurred, and Marshall, Chief Justice, Washington and Story, delivered long and learned opinions. This became a leading and very important case on the subject of corporate rights.

By this judgment the new University, and consequently the office of President Allen, ceased to exist. Francis Brown, a former minister of North Yarmouth, who had been

elected President of the College in 1815, as successor of the second President Wheelock, was reinstated in office.

At this juncture, the office of President of Bowdoin College became vacant by the lamented death of the admirable President Appleton, in 1819; Mr. Allen was in 1820, chosen his successor. This was coincident with the establishment of our State government.

President Allen continued assiduously to discharge the duties of this responsible station for nineteen years, until his resignation in 1839. In the early portion of the time, before the appointment of Prof. Newman to the chair of Rhetoric, he gave instructions in that department.

While so engaged, and ever since, he has made it a point to note every *new word*, which occurred in his reading of authors of deserved reputation. In this manner he made a collection of over ten thousand new words, that is, of words not before embraced in standard dictionaries. He furnished Dr. Worcester for his large Dictionary published in 1846, nearly fifteen hundred of such words, and for Dr. Webster's Dictionary, published in 1854, over four thousand, and has recently placed in the hands of the publishers of Webster's Dictionary for the next edition, a catalogue of over six thousand new words. This is a striking fact, and while it entitles President Allen to great credit for this large contribution to useful knowledge, shows an astonishing change in the language. It may be accounted for in part by the rapid progress of science and the arts, during the last fifty years; which has introduced a multitudinous array of new terms; partly by the increased study of German and other foreign languages, which has fastened upon the Saxon a strange and uncouth vocabulary. A similar change is noticed by Selden, in his "Table Talk." He says, "If

you look upon the language spoken in the Saxon time, and the language spoken now, you will find the difference to be just as if a man had a cloak that he wore plain in Queen Elizabeth's days, and since, here has put in a piece of red, and there a piece of blue, and here a piece of green, and there a piece of orange-tawny. We borrow words from the *French*, *Italian* and *Latin*, as every pedantic man pleases." Again he quaintly says, "Words must be fitted to a man's mouth. 'T was well said of the fellow that was to make a speech for my Lord Mayor, he desired to take the measure of the Mayor's mouth."

President Allen during his term of office, occupied himself with various literary and professional labors. He published numerous sermons delivered on special occasions, for which his services were sought, also the Dudleian lecture at Cambridge, and a discourse on the value of the Bible. He also published his addresses delivered to the Senior Classes of Bowdoin College from 1823 to 1829, also a work entitled "Junius Unmasked," to prove that Lord Sackville was this "*nominis umbra*," an account of shipwrecks, a duodecimo of three hundred and thirty-five pages, which was a collection of most interesting narratives of perils by sea, also a new edition of Psalms and Hymns, a memoir of Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, and the second edition of his biographical dictionary, containing eight hundred and eight closely printed pages.

On his retirement from the Presidency of the College, he established himself at North Hampton, where he continues, at the ripe age of seventy-three, to pursue with his accustomed ardor and industry, studies and labors which have filled and adorned a long and varied life.

His latter publications have been a report on popery to

the General Association of Massachusetts, a historical discourse on the fortieth anniversary of the second church in Dorchester, 1848, a memoir of the Rev. John Codman, who was his classmate, in 1853; a discourse at the close of the Second Century of the Settlement of North Hampton, October, 1854; "Wunnissoo." or the "Vale of Hoosatunnuk," 1856, with valuable and learned notes, and a portrait of the author, and lastly the preparation of the third edition of his Biographical and Historical Dictionary, a task, which, from its large additions, must have required great research and labor.

The bare recital of his numerous publications, must impress every one with a deep sense of his industry, the versatility of his genius and his scholarly attainments.

Our third President was the Rev. Dr. Nichols, of Portland, who filled the office six years, from 1827 to 1833. Dr. Nichols was the son of Captain Ichabod Nichols, and was born in Portsmouth, N. H., July 5, 1784. Eight years after his birth, his father moved to Salem, Mass., and continued to reside there until his death. He entered Harvard College in 1798, and graduated with the first honors of his class in 1802, at the age of eighteen years. This high honor will be better appreciated, when it is considered that his class, consisting of sixty members, was one of the most distinguished that ever left the halls of that venerable University. Among them were the Rev. William Allen, late President of Bowdoin College, James T. Austin, of Boston, Dr. Codman of Dorchester, Dr. James Flint, of Salem, Professor Frisbie, of Harvard College, Samuel Hoar, of Concord, Governor Levi Lincoln, of Mass., Andrew Ritchie, who was his rival for the highest honors, and Leverett Salstonstall; all of whom have occupied high positions in society.

Mr. Nichols, notwithstanding his youth, applied himself with marked assiduity, to the study of the exact sciences, to which his mind naturally inclined; his great proficiency in them commended him, in 1805, to the Faculty of the College, for the office of tutor in Mathematics. On leaving College he had commenced the study of Theology with his beloved pastor, Dr. Barnard, of Salem, and he continued ther during the four years he filled the place of tutor.

On the 27th of February, 1809, having preached four Sundays as a candidate for settlement in the First Parish in Portland, he was unanimously invited to become a colleague with the venerable Dr. Deane, then past seventy-five years of age. The Parish then contained among its members, Prentiss Mellen, Stephen Longfellow, Ezekiel Whitman, Woodbury Storer, Dr. Coffin, Matthew Cobb, Robert Boyd, George Bradbury, William Wigery, &c., the descendants of whom still occupy the pews.

Mr. Nichols was ordained June 7, 1809, the Council being composed of the Cumberland Association of ministers, to which were added some of the most distinguished clergymen of Massachusetts, such as the venerable Dr. Lathrop, Dr. Kirkland, and Mr. Buckminster, of Boston, Dr. Barnard, of Salem, and Dr. Abbott, of Beverly. It was on this occasion, that the first open manifestation was made of the division, which afterwards became so wide and inseparable, in the Congregational denomination of New England. Mr. Payson, who had been recently settled over the only other Congregational church in Portland, and was a member of the Council, declined giving "the right hand of fellowship" to Mr. Nichols, to which he was invited, and withheld his approbation of him as a candidate, on the ground that his theological opinions were not satisfactory nor sound. Mr.

Nichols and the persons who took part in the services, with one or two exceptions, were seceders from the old profession of faith, and having passed through liberal Calvinism and Arminianism, they took the name of liberal christians, now called Unitarians, with a separate and distinct formula of faith, denying the received doctrines of the trinity, and the construction given by Calvinists to several other prominent articles of the prevailing creed.

From that time, Mr. Payson declined exchanging with Mr. Nichols, and an entire separation took place in the religious courtesies of the two societies, which has ever since continued.

At that period there was no other acknowledged Unitarian Society in Maine, although there were several that were liberally inclined, and sympathized with it in sentiment. The elder ministers of the two societies continued their friendship, and Mr. Kellogg preached the funeral discourse at the First Parish Church in 1814, on the interment of its aged pastor, Dr. Deane.

After the death of Dr. Deane, Mr. Nichols continued sole pastor, diligently and faithfully discharging all the duties of the pastorate, until the settlement of the Rev. Horatio Stebbins as his colleague in February, 1855.

Toward the close of that year, finding it necessary for his health to withdraw wholly from the cares of the ministry, he sent to the Parish a resignation of his pastoral office. The Parish were unwilling to dissolve the interesting and affectionate relation which had existed between them for forty-six years, and expressed a desire that while he should be relieved from all the duties of the office, the official character which he had so long sustained might not be sundered.

This was acceded to, and he still continues in form, the senior pastor, although freed from all the responsibilities of the office. The principal members of the parish, to express their interest and affection for their beloved pastor, subscribed to a fund sufficient to purchase an annuity of five hundred and fifty dollars during his life. But Dr. Nichols, with a characteristic disinterestedness and delicacy, declined accepting this voluntary tribute to his worth, from an apprehension, by no means well founded, that it would place him under obligations to render future services, and because he thought the gift greater than he ought to accept.

We may be permitted in this connection, to allude to the singular history of this ancient society, established in 1718, but not organized as a church until 1727. Thomas Smith, of Boston, was in March of that year, ordained its first pastor. This was the sixth Church established in Maine, and the *first* east of Wells. Those which were prior to it, were the first church in York, over which the Rev. Samuel Moody was ordained in 1700, who died in the ministry in 1747—the second was Berwick, where was settled in 1707, Jeremiah Wise, a sound divine and able scholar, who continued in the ministry there forty-eight years — the church in Kittery, over which John Newmarch was pastor from 1714 to 1750; the church in Eliot, over which John Rogers was ordained in 1721, and continued his ministrations fifty-two years; Samuel Jefferds was settled in the church at Wells in 1725 and died there in 1752. Next came the church in Falmouth over which Thomas Smith was ordained March, 1727, and continued in the ministry until his death in May, 1795, at the age of ninety-five, and of a pastorate of sixty-eight years,

two months and one half, which has few parallels in this or any other country.*

The Rev. Dr. Deane was associated with Mr. Smith as colleague, in October, 1764, and continued uninterruptedly in the ministry until his death in November, 1814, a period of fifty years and twenty-five days. Dr. Nichols the pastor *emeritus*, still continues, and thus this ancient Parish for a period of one hundred and thirty years has had an uninterrupted ministry, and never witnessed an hour when she had not a pastor, the third now being in full and active life.

In 1792 there were but fifty-five settled ministers in Maine, of whom forty-one were Congregationalists, and fourteen Baptists; not one of them survives. In 1856 there were in the State three hundred and eighty-four settled ministers, divided into thirteen denominations; the Methodists having the largest number, the Calvinistic Baptists the second and the Congregationalists the third. There is but one minister living in the State, who was settled prior to Dr. Nichols, and that is Rev. David Thurston of Searsport.

*The following table will show the longest pastorates on record:
Mr. Adams of Newington, N. H. 1715 to 1783, 68 years,
Dr. Gay Hingham, Mass., 1718 to 1787, 69 years,
Nathan Buckman, Medway, 1724 to 1795. 70 years,
Thomas Smith, Portland, Me., 1727 to 1795. 68 years,
Mr. Whitney, Brookline, Con., 1756 to 1824, 68 years,
Nathan Williams, Tolland, Conn., 1760 to 1829. 69 years,
Samuel Nott Franklin, Conn., — 1852 70 years, died May 1852, aged 98,
Samuel Deane, Portland, 1764 to 1814, 50 years,

Rev. Nehemiah Porter of Ashfield, died in 1820 aged 99 years, 11 months, but had left the pastorate many years before.

Rev. Nathan Birdseye of Strafford, died in 1818, in the 104th year of his age, and is the only Congregational minister on record, who has attained 100 years, except the Rev. John Sawyer now living in this State, who was 100 years old Oct. 9, 1855, and who delivered an extemporaneous discourse on the occasion of celebrating his centennial anniversary.

In 1856 was living Rev Laban Ainsworth, senior pastor of the church in Jeffrey N. H., in his 103 year; born in 1754, the oldest graduate of Dartmouth College, and probably the oldest clergyman in the country.

In 1817 Dr. Nichols was chosen one of the Fellows of Bowdoin College. In 1821 he received from that institution the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and in 1831 the same degree from Harvard College. He was also many years since elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a distinction conferred upon quite a limited number of the citizens of Maine.

In the autumn of 1855, being engaged in the preparation of an important work on the coincidences in the New Testament, and the evidences of revealed religion, he moved to Cambridge for the purpose of consulting learned works, not within his reach in our State, and to superintend its publication. He has also in preparation for the press a volume of sermons. These favorite occupations of his leisure hours, when given to the public, will no doubt add to a reputation, deservedly high, for learning, piety and scholarship.

Dr. Nichols has well sustained the position he acquired at College; his life has been devoted to study and the acquisition of knowledge; and his mind was receptive of all the stores which he greedily sought from the circle of English and German literature, theology and science. No branches of knowledge were beyond his pursuit or grasp, for while theology has been the staple of his acquisition, he has never forgotten, or ceased to cherish those sciences which were the objects of his earliest attachment; nor did he fail to court the lighter and more graceful pursuits of literature and the arts. We cannot hesitate to pronounce him one of the best cultivated and universal scholars that Maine has cherished in her bosom. Nor is he like many scholars, reserved in the communication of his knowledge; he is ever ready in conversation to impart copiously from the

full stores of his mind, on any subject opened to him. No one ever listened to his conversation without being deeply impressed with a sense of his profound learning, and the large range of his thought, or being largely instructed from the rich stores of his mind. He is an admirable talker, as well as thinker.

The style of his pulpit discourses was always elevated; he seized the salient points of his subjects, clearly presented and illustrated them, without descending to common places. From excess of thought and the fulness of his mind, they often rose above the level of the common apprehension, and often required close attention to follow the course of his reasoning and argument. But they were able expositions and exhaustive of the subjects discussed. His extemporaneous discourses were also clear, animated and effective.

Dr. Nichols was twice married, first to a daughter of Governor Gilman, of New Hampshire, to whom he was united May 15, 1810. This admirable and beloved woman died in 1831, leaving two sons, one a physician, the other a clergyman, honorably fulfilling the duties of those professions. His second and present wife, is a daughter of the late Stephen Higginson, long a distinguished merchant and philanthropist in Boston.

I come now to speak of my immediate predecessor, whose long, active and useful life, has advanced the interests of his adopted State, as did that of his distinguished maternal ancestors, prior to the Revolution, in religion, education, the arts and manufactures.

Mr. Gardiner was born in England, to which his parents and grandparents had retired, on the breaking out of hostilities in the colonies with the mother country. His father, un-

cle and grandfather, had held responsible offices under the Crown; his father and uncle having successively occupied the embarrassing positions of Comptroller and Collector of Customs during the exciting period just preceding the Revolution; they were also connected by family alliances with officers in the British service, which, with the sense of their allegiance to Government, seemed to leave them no alternative but to adhere to the royal authority. There were other causes impelling them to sacrifice their large properties in the province to their allegiance to the King. As officers appointed by the home government, they were regarded with great jealousy, and were treated with the utmost contumely. The house of the uncle, Benjamin Hallowell, Jr., had been mobbed and sacked at the time Gov. Hutchinson's was destroyed, and had at other times been assaulted and injured; and his father, Robert Hallowell, as Collector of the port, was harrassed and insulted on many occasions.

It would be interesting, had we time to pursue the subject, to examine and weigh the various influences, which induced many of the most prominent men in Massachusetts, to abandon their native land, their friends and property, in maintenance of their allegiance to the mother country. It cannot be denied that they were men of the highest character for virtue, intelligence and social position; they embraced the whole body of Episcopalians, with slight exceptions, and included men of every profession. They doubted the necessity and the expediency of separation; they doubted more the ability of the colonies to resist the power of England, and dreaded the result of a protracted and bloody contest. We can now afford to give to that large and respectable class of persons, who in that crisis abandoned their estates, their connections and country, and went into voluntary exile, the

benefit of a liberal construction of their motives, and of a candid judgment of their characters. The Saltonstalls, Winslows, Sewalls, Ruggles, Tyngs, Pepperells, Royalls, Chandlers, Coffins, native born and honorable all, must have acted conscientiously, in the conclusion they unfortunately adopted.

In this class of loyalists was Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, of Boston. He was son of William Gardiner, grandson of Benoni, and great-grandson of Joseph Gardiner, the first immigrant of the name to the Narragansett country in Rhode Island, and one of the first settlers of that country. Dr. Gardiner was born at South Kingston, in R. I., in 1717, was educated for the medical profession, and having spent eight years in England and France for the purpose of completing his education, he returned to his native land and established himself in Boston, where he soon took rank in the first class of physicians and surgeons in New England. I may be permitted to dwell the longer upon this maternal grandfather of our late President, as he was, before the Revolution, one of the largest and most substantial benefactors toward our State.

Previous to 1753, the year in which the Plymouth Company was incorporated, under the name of the Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase, Dr. Gardiner became one of the Proprietors. The territory of this company, after its boundaries were established by various litigation and compromises, embraced the large tract extending from Merrymeeting bay to Norridgewock, fifteen miles in width on each side of the Kennebec river, and including the towns of Bath and Phippsburg.

The meetings of this company were regularly held from 1749 to 1816, of which Dr. Gardiner was perpetual modera-

tor prior to the revolution, and the most active of its members. He devised their plans, directed their measures, and expended large sums of money from his private fortune to promote settlements on the Kennebec. For these objects, £5000 were assessed on the company in eleven years after Dr. Gardiner took control of its affairs. It was owing to the earnest efforts and liberal contributions of this company, that forts Halifax, at Ticonic falls, and Western, at Augusta were erected by government for the protection of the country from Indian depredations. In 1751, a party of German emigrants was induced by the offers of the company to settle at Dresden, many of whose descendants still remain. In 1754, Dr. Gardiner cleared up a farm of four hundred acres on Eastern river in Dresden, — built houses and mills there, which became of great benefit to the settlers. The house is now standing, and is occupied by a great-grand-son of the original proprietor. The next year, he built houses, stores, wharves and mills at Gardiner, and cleared up a large farm there, and sent his son William to manage his concerns at that place.

In 1761, the year after the county of Lincoln was established, the Plymouth company erected at their own expense the public buildings for the county. The court house, three stories high, and then used for the accommodation of the judges and parties attending court, as well as for the court room and offices, is now standing on the bank of the river at Dresden, then called Pownalboro', a conspicuous object and a monument of the liberality and enterprise of the Plymouth Company.

Dr. Gardiner was a liberal patron and a very active member of the Episcopal church; he took especial pains to plant it on the soil of the Plymouth Company. A church aided

by his exertions and means was established at Dresden, in which the zealous and learned frontier missionary, Bailey, long and ably officiated; another was planted further down the river, and a third, liberally endowed by Dr. Gardiner, at Gardiner. He gave to it ten acres of land for a glebe, and bequeathed to it twenty-eight pounds sterling a year forever, for the minister. The missions of the Church of England furnished the first religious instruction in this part of Maine.

These are some of the claims which Dr. Gardiner presents to the people of this generation and of our community, for their consideration and praise. Similar enlightened efforts, longer continued and of larger extent, entitle the successor, and the present occupant of the estates, to the like praise and admiration.

Dr. Gardiner returned from England in 1784, and established himself in the practice of his profession, at Newport, R. I., where he died in 1786 in the eightieth year of his age. The Newport Mercury of that day, in a notice of his character, justly describes him as a "man of uncommon vigor and activity of mind, and of unremitted diligence," and adds, "his christian piety and fortitude were exemplary, his honesty inflexible, his friendship sincere."

Hannah, the fourth child of Dr. Gardiner by his first wife Anne, daughter of Dr. Gibbons of Boston, married Robert Hallowell, son of Benjamin Hallowell of Boston, of which marriage Robert Hallowell Gardiner, the subject of this notice, was the only son. He was born at Bristol, England, then a favorite place of residence of the American loyalists.

Dr. Gardiner, by his will, bequeathed the property at Gardiner, which embraced a much larger tract than is now in-

cluded in its corporate limits, and lying on both sides of the river, to his son William, who was residing on the tract; and in case of his death, without issue, to Robert, the only son of Robert Hallowell and his daughter Hannah, on condition that the son should take the name of Gardiner, and with certain entailments.

William died the year after his father, and the estate descended to the present Mr. Gardiner, he having complied with the conditions of the gift. It must be a perpetual gratification to him that he has been able and disposed so faithfully and successfully to execute the enlarged and noble views — views beyond the age in which he lived — of his honored grandfather.

Mr. Gardiner, at the time he succeeded to the inheritance, was but five years old: his father as executor of the will, came over to administer the estate, but did not bring his family until 1792, when his son was ten years old. He was placed in the best schools the country afforded, in Boston, Andover and Hingham, and finally entered Harvard College from which he graduated in 1801, having for classmates, Timothy Fuller, the father of Margaret Ossoli, Dr. Gorham of Boston, Archdeacon Stuart of Canada, and William and George Sullivan.

Not being of age at the time of his graduation, and his health being feeble, he spent sixteen months in foreign travel; he also became a member of the Anthology Society, a brotherhood of choice spirits, who, composed of Buckminster, Shaw, Quincy, Willard, Savage, and other young *savans*, laid the foundation of the Boston Athenæum, and contributed to give to that city the literary *soubriquet* of the Athens of America.

Soon after his return from Europe, he entered with ardor

upon the unaccustomed and severe duty of giving civilization and value to the rude region, over whose wide domain he was to assume the management. How great the sacrifice this kind of life demanded, to a young man educated in all the refinements of the age, and of the best society, may easily be conceived. But he disregarded them all. When he first came to the territory in 1803, the estate had been neglected by its proprietors for thirty years, and had fallen into a ruinous condition. A few families had drifted in from the west, and finding no persons who could give a title to land, they quietly seated themselves upon chosen lots, without formality, and proceeded to clear up farms. Of such persons there were already eighty-six families upon his township, who, in the language of the day, were called squatters. Their number had become so great upon the unoccupied land in Lincoln and Kennebec Counties, that they constituted a formidable power—a squatter sovereignty—and seriously undertook to resist the lawful proprietors by force. Conflicts of the most alarming nature occurred, in the violent opposition they made to the running out and taking possession of their land by the owners of the soil. In one of these conflicts in 1810, Chadwick, an assistant surveyor, was killed by a disguised party, and on various occasions buildings were burnt and persons were robbed.

They proceeded to even greater outrages, for after the persons engaged in the murder of Chadwick were committed to the jail in Augusta, a large party of squatters disguised as Indians, attacked it for the purpose of rescuing the prisoners, and it became necessary to call out the militia, not only to guard the prison, but to protect the court while engaged in the trials. This catastrophe, which ral-

lied the friends of good order to sustain the law, and the passage of the betterment act, as it was called, in 1811, which gave to the squatters the right to purchase their lots or receive pay for their improvements, restored peace and secured to landed proprietors the enjoyment of their titles.

Mr. Gardiner, by pursuing a wise and conciliatory course, did not encounter many of the trials and difficulties to which other large proprietors were subjected. Perceiving the true state of the case, that there were really some equities in favor of the trespassers, and that they were determined not to abandon their improvements without a severe struggle or an equivalent, he determined at once to invite the settlers to an amicable adjustment. For this purpose he issued a circular, calling a meeting of the settlers in Gardiner to come to some arrangement respecting the occupation of their lots. This movement was looked upon with jealousy by squatters in adjoining towns, as calculated to disturb their organization. The settlers in Litchfield, therefore, came down in considerable number to disturb the meeting. Mr. Gardiner, finding that he could accomplish nothing while these intruders were present, and they refusing to leave the room at his request, promptly went to the leader, a stout man, and led him out of the room; conscious of his wrongful conduct, no resistance was made; the others quietly followed, and the door was locked to prevent further interruption.

At this single meeting, a contract in writing was mutually signed by Mr. Gardiner and every one of his trespassers, by which all their quarrels were amicably settled, and peace restored to his community, while a savage war was raging in the neighboring towns. The substance of the agreement was, that the squatters should have the priv-

ilege of purchasing the lots which they occupied, at a reasonable price on long credit; or if they chose to abandon them, they should be paid for their improvements a price to be determined by referees mutually chosen. The settlers were allowed the privilege of remaining upon their possessions twenty months after the appraisement, if they elected to relinquish them. This is the very spirit of the Betterment act and could not fail, from its equitable terms, to accomplish the most favorable results. About one half of the settlers purchased their lots and became useful and industrious citizens; the others received payment for their improvements and left town. For these improvements, Mr, Gardiner paid five thousand dollars, a sum far exceeding their actual value, as in many cases little more had been done, than cutting down the trees and erecting log hovels.

The wisdom of this proceeding was manifest in the confidence which immediately took place between the proprietor and the inhabitants, and their harmonious efforts to promote the happiness and prosperity of the place. The inhabitants doubled between 1800 and 1810, while in the adjoining country, the angry contest continued to the injury of all parties engaged in it.

Mr. Gardiner was now free to exercise his energy and good judgment in improving the large resources of his inheritance. Expensive and permanent dams, mills and manufacturing establishments were erected, skillful mechanics and enterprising tradesmen were invited by the advantages of the location to employ their skill and invest their capital in that flourishing town. His own funds were liberally used to promote the prosperity of the place.

On his first visit to the town in 1803, his journey was made by water, which, in consequence of the wretched con-

dition of the roads, was the only comfortable mode of accomplishing it. There was no carriage road to the place, or in that part of the country; all communication was by the river or on horseback. Social visits were made by water. The mail was carried from Portland to Gardiner on horseback, twice a week, and the postman was a day and a half in performing the journey. Mr. Gardiner applied himself diligently, to remove these embarrassments and to open the country to a more easy inter-communication. The transition which fifty years have produced from the rude beginnings of that period to the present facilities of communication and business, cannot fail to make a deep impression upon one who has passed with almost the rapidity of a vision from one scene to the other. Maine in 1803 and 1856 are like two different creations, whether regarded from a material or intellectual stand-point. Those who have experienced both alone can fully appreciate the contrast.

Nor were Mr. Gardiner's energies limited to improving the physical condition of the territory over which he became the trustee and guardian. He took a broader and more comprehensive view of his duties and privileges, and early commenced a series of measures to advance the intellectual and moral condition of the people. Inheriting the ideas of his father and grandfather on the subject of religion, and being an Episcopalian from sincere conviction, he has given to that form of worship his ardent and effectual support. In this and all his benevolent plans through its various instrumentalities, he has had the hearty co-operation of his wife, a daughter of Col. Tudor, of Boston, and of his interesting family.

In 1819, he contributed mainly to the erection of the beautiful stone church in Gardiner, then one of the finest

structures in the State, and has ever since been its steady patron, aiding in all its efforts to promote religious instruction in the Parish.

Nor were his labors in the cause of general education less earnest or less efficient. The Gardiner Lyceum, incorporated 1822, was a favorite project of his. It was intended to be what its name purports, an institution in which all branches of knowledge should be taught, from the simple principles which would enable the farmer to grow larger crops, and the mechanic and manufacturer to produce with more skill and less labor the objects of their industry, to the sciences which give scope to the highest exercise of our mental faculties. A fine stone building was erected for the accommodation of the pupils, a valuable philosophical apparatus, and a well selected library were furnished, to enlarge the sphere of instruction. Mr. Gardiner was so far the largest subscriber to the enterprise as almost to be called its founder. The school was the best of its kind in the State at the time, and flourished for several years. But its support required more means than private funds could well spare for it, and the great improvement in free schools diminishing the number of its attendants, its friends were obliged to discontinue it, notwithstanding the great advantage it had proved to that community and the cause of education generally.

The town will long have occasion to remember Mr. Gardiner for his eminent services and his numerous benefactions, among which was a large lot presented to it for a common; this fine ornament of the place will be a perpetual source of gratification. No public improvement there has failed to receive his support.

Above all these, however, has been the genial influences

of the christian example — the best part of a good man's life—which he and his family, for half a century, have gracefully shed over that community.

I have thus sketched portraits of the eminent men who have presided over our Society since its origin, and have introduced upon the canvass interesting portions of our history with which for a period of sixty years some of them have been intimately connected. Their lives have been so interwoven in the annals of our State, that if they were left out, it would be like the performance of Hamlet with the character of Hamlet omitted. They have left their foot-prints as they have passed on. But we and society are ever moving onward — "The children of Time like their sire, cannot stand still." New candidates for fame and new laborers in the broad field of human effort, are pressing ardently forward, and crowd the avenues which their predecessors have opened and cultivated and adorned. We wish them God speed, and will leave for their encouragement and strength a cheering passage from the "Psalm of Life:"

"Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Foot prints on the sands of time;

Foot prints that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait."

ARTICLE II.

PEMAQUID PAPERS:

PREPARED BY

FRANKLIN B. HOUGH.

NOTE.

Dr. Franklin B. Hough, the superintendent of the Census in New York, in his examination of documents in the State Department at Albany in 1854, discovered records and papers relating to the Duke of York's province in Maine, and his other possessions in Massachusetts. Having communicated the fact to this Society, measures were immediately taken to procure copies of them for publication. Our State promptly granted to the Society three hundred dollars to defray the expenses of copying and printing. At the suggestion of Dr. Hough, whose efforts in this cause are entitled to great praise, and who prepared the accompanying introduction to the documents, the society caused them to be printed in Albany, in a beautiful antique style, corresponding with that of the date of the documents themselves, under Dr. Hough's inspection. Notwithstanding the great progress in the arts, that of printing has not advanced so much that the early artists in this branch need be ashamed of having their work placed by the side of our modern execution.

The documents in the State Department at Albany, N. Y., are of great value, throwing a flood of light upon the early history of the country, and are freely opened, under direction of their enlightened curators, to general examination and study; and are commanding a still wider benefit from the press.

PAPERS

Relating to

PEMAQUID

and parts adjacent in the preſent ſtate of Maine, known as

CORNWALL COUNTY,

WHEN UNDER THE

COLONY OF NEW-YORK,

Compiled from Official Records in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, N. Y.

BY

FRANKLIN B. HOUGH.

ALBANY,

Weed, Parſons & Companie.

MDCCCLVI.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE obſcurity which has involved the hiſtory of that portion of Maine included within the patent of the Duke of York, while under the ducal government, has long been felt and acknowledged,[1] and hiſtorians in their accounts of this period, have been obliged in the abſence of authentic documents, to rely upon ſlight and imperfect data. The following papers now for the firſt time printed, it is believed, will add much to our acquaintance with the annals of the ſection known as "*Pemaquid and its dependencies*," in the early records of New-York.

The dependance of a part of Maine upon the government of New-York, originated as follows: William Alexander, Earl of Sterling, Secretary of the kingdom of Scotland, having been previouſly concerned in extenſive grants in Nova Scotia[2]

[1] Vide, Williamſon's Hiſt. of Maine, i, 228 et ſeq.—Coll. of Maine Hiſt. Soc., ii, 229–237;—ib. iv, 209, &c.

[2] The Nova Scotia Charter was granted March 9, 1621, confirmed and enlarged by a second patent, Sept. 10, of the ſame year. Williamſon's Hiſt. of Maine, i, 223—Sullivan's Hiſt. of Maine, 124—Coll. of Maine Hiſt. Soc., i, 11.

and in the operations of the Plymouth Company, received by lot, in 1635,[1] one of the three diviſions into which the territory of Maine was divided upon the diſſolution of that Company. The ſhare thus received, extended from the Kennebeck to the St. Croix rivers, and embraced ſeveral grants previouſly made, upon which ſettlements had been commenced.

In 1663, the Earl of Clarendon, on behalf of the Duke of York, purchaſed of Henry, then Earl of Sterling, his intereſt in American grants,[2] including, beſides that of Maine, the title of Long Iſland, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard,[3] and other iſlands adjacent, and in 1664,[4] the Duke of York received from his Royal brother a Charter for theſe territories and

[1] Theſe lots were drawn Feb. 3, the grants executed April 22, and the charter of the company ſurrendered June 7, of that year. Coll. of Maine Hiſt. Soc., i, 42–44—Coll. of New Jersey Hiſt. Soc., ii, 38.

[2] The conſideration of this purchaſe was £3,500, but upon failure of payment, a life annuity of £300 was, in 1674, agreed upon, payable out of the net profits of revenue ariſing from the colony, which proving inſufficient, an order was iſſued in 1689 for the arrears to be paid out of the funds of the Colony. New-York Coll. Hiſt., iii, 606.

[3] A ſmall edition of a volume embracing the New-York official records concerning Nantucket and adjacent iſlands, prepared by the editor of this volume, has been printed under the patronage of the Hon. John V. L. Pruyn, of Albany, for diſtribution among public libraries.

[4] March 12. Vide Patents, i, 109, Secretary's Office, Albany.

others, then held by the Dutch, ſince known as New-York, New Jerſey and Delaware.

The New-York records do not ſhow what juriſdiction was aſſerted over the eaſtern portion of the Duke's territories prior to the reduction of New-York by the Dutch in 1673. Upon that occaſion the General Court of Maſſachusetts, under pretext of a ſurvey that included the territory, took poſſeſſion of the Pemaquid ſettlements, organized a local government,[1] and in July, 1674, a court was held under this authority within the Duke's territories. Upon the reſtoration of New-York to the Engliſh, by the peace of Weſtminſter,[2] a new patent, embracing the ſame territory, was taken out by the Duke of York,[3] and upon the arrival of governor Androſs, meaſures were taken to re-eſtabliſh this authority throughout the government. Civil and military commiſſions were iſſued, and upon the organization of a General Aſſembly in New-York in 1683, and

[1] Williamſon's Hiſt. of Maine, i, 443—Coll. of Maine Hiſt. Soc., i, 131.

[2] Feb. 9, 1674, Art. 6.

[3] June 29, 1674, Vide Smith's Hiſt. of New-York, (1814) 61—Dunlap's Hiſt. of New-York, i, 129.

the diviſion of the colony into counties, "Pemy-Quid, and all the Territories in thoſe Parts, with the Iſlands adjacent," were erected into the county of *Cornwall*, and entitled to ſend one member to the General Aſſembly.[1] This connection continued until the ſucceſſion of the Duke of York to the throne, when by a royal order[2] theſe territories were annexed to the New England government.

The following papers are arranged chronologically, with references to the originals in the New-York Secretary's office. The occurrence of a line of aſteriſks, denotes an omiſſion of matter relating to other ſubjects, and a row of periods, indicates a loſs of part of the record. The original orthography has been followed, except in the uſe of capital initials in names of perſons, where ſmall letters had been employed.

[1] Nov. 1, 1683. Orig. Laws, MSS. ii.—Livingſton & Smith's, &c., Ed. Laws, i, 6.—The act organizing counties was re-enacted Oct. 1, 1691. It will be ſeen that Gyles Goddard actually repreſented Cornwall county during one ſeſſion.

[2] This order was dated Sept. 19, 1686, Deeds viii, 75, Secretary's office, Albany.

PAPERS RELATING TO PEMAQUID AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

EXTRACT from the Grant to the Duke of York, Dated 12th March Ao 16. Car. 2.d 1664.

[Patents i. 109.]

CHARLES the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland ffrance & Ireland Defender of the ffaith &c To all to whom theſe p'nts ſhall come Greeting: Know yee that wee for diverſe good Cauſes and Conſideracõns us thereunto moving Have of our eſpeciall Grace Certaine knowledge and meere motion Given and Granted And by theſe preſents for us our heires and ſucceſſo^rs Do Give and Grant unto our Deareſt Brother James Duke of Yorke his heires

and Aſſignes All that part of the Maine Land of New England begining at a Certaine place called or knowne by the name of St Croix, next adjoyning to New Scotland in America and from thence extending along the ſea coaſt unto a certaine place called Petuaquine or Pemaquid and ſo up the River thereof to the furtheſt head of y^e^ ſame as it tendeth northwards and extending from thence to the River Kinebequi, and ſo upwards by the ſhorteſt courſe to the River Canada northwards: And alſo * * * *

[Here follows a grant for the province of New-York and parts of Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, &c.]

Lre to ye Inhabitants of Pemaquid.

[General Entries iv. 258.]

Gen^ts^. It might ſeem ſtrange to you that in ſoe long diſtance of time thoſe parts under his Royall Highness Patronage and Protection, of which you are Memb^rs^ & Inhabitants have not been aſſumed in any particular care & Governm^t^. as Subſtitute to his Royall Highness, by whoſe Grace and Indulgence I am (under him)

appointed Governo^{r}. of all his Territoryes in America; And truly I might juſtly have fallen under yo^{r} Cenſure of Remiſſ-neſs, were I not allwayes in Expectacõn that Affayres would have been perfected by my worthy Predeceſſo^{r} Coll: Nicolls, to whom the ſole managery of that Busy-neſs was committed; neither could I ever doubt of the perfecting of it, had it not been interrupted by an Active & furious warr, in w^{ch} Expedition hee moſt ſadly, (yet as bravely) laid down his Life at his Masters ffeet;[1] All expectations from him being now wholly extinct, It is a Duty incumbent on mee to erect a ſuperſtructure on that ffoundation, which hee in his Lifetime worthily aimed at; To which end I ſhall deſire you, ffirſt to give mee a true ſtate of yo^{r} Affayres, as they now ſtand; next That you would tranſmitt to mee a modell of ſuch a Governm^{t}. as ſhall bee moſt conducing to the Happyness of that Colony, both to its ſafety Traffick, & Increaſe of Inhabitants, promiſing upon the reception of that Scheme, not only

[1] Coll. Richard Nicolls was ſlain in a naval engagement with the Dutch, in the ſervice of the Duke of York, in 1672. A monument is erected to his memory in Amphil Church, Bedfordſhire, England.

to Inveſt you w^th ample power to Exerciſe yo^r Authority both to Eccleſiaſtick as Civill Affayres, but will bee ready on all Occaſions to bee aſſiſting to you in the Preſervation of all yo^r Rights and Intereſt againſt any ſiniſter Obſtructions; Thus deſiring to heare from you by the firſt Opportunity, I heartily recommend you to the Allmighty's Protection, & remaine

Yo^r Very Affectionate ffriend,

FRAN: LOVELACE.

Fort James on ye Iſland Manhatans in N: Yorke, ffeb: 16th 167$\frac{2}{3}$.

Council Minutes.

[Council Minutes vol iii. Part II. Page 117.]

At a Councell Sept 8th 1676.

Preſent The Governo^r
Capt Brockhols The Secretary
Capt Dyre.

* * * *

A Letter coming from Boſton to the Governor from M^r Abr Corbetts who lives to the Eaſtward, in the Dukes Patent,

relateing the deſtruction of the Eaſtern parts near Pemaquid &c by y^e^ Indians, in the month of Aug^ſt^ laſt, about the 20^th^ day of the month, The ſame being read and conſidered of,

Reſolved, to ſend a ſloope to Piſcataway Salem and Boſton, to invite and bring as many of the Inhabitants particularly ffiſhermen as will come driven from the Dukes Territoryes, and parts Eaſtward, and to ſupply them with Land in any part of the Government they ſhall chuſe.

* * * *

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxvii.]

At a Councell held in N. Y. the 5^th^ day of Jan 1677.

Vpon a L^re^ from the Go: of Boſton dated No: 13^th^ brought hither by M^r^ W^m^ Bowdiſh the 2^d^ inſt. deſiring and order for the delivery of the Ketches at Pemaquid, to their own^rs^, of which ſaid M^r^ Bowditch with M^r^ W^m^ Duvall is ſaid to be oner, And the ſaid M^r^ Bowditch on y^e^

behalfe of himſelfe & M^r Duvall offering ſecurity to pay ſalvage or what other Charges their Ketch ſhall be adjudged unto by the Go: alleadging alſo that the ſ^d Ketch lyeing at ſhee doth will bee quite spoyled, & alſo will looſe the fiſhing ſeaſon this ſpring for which they make ready in ffeb^r, & is comonly eſteemed to bee worth double y^t it is the reſt of the yeare.

The ſame being particularly taken into conſideracõn

Reſolved That an order be given to y^e ſ^d M^r Bowditch on behalfe of himſelfe & M^r Duvall for the delivery of the ſ^d Ketch unto him or whom hee ſhall appoint, hee giving ſecurity to the value of the Ketch here to pay ſalvage, or ſuch other charges as ſhee ſhall bee adjudged unto, at the returne of the Governo^r

An order hereupon for the delivery

A bond of 400^lb for paym^t of 200

Tho Del: & W^m Bowditch of Salem.

W^m Bowditch of Salem in N: Engl Merch & Tho Delavall of New-Yorke Merch a blank ſum bound to Edm Andros Eſq Go. in this his R H. Territoyes in America his Succeſſo^r & Aſſignes.

(The foregoing paper was endorſed as follows:)

To Capt Caeſar Knapton, Com̃and^{r}

You are hereby deſired to cauſe the Ketch . . . . . of . . . . to bee deliuered unto M^{r} W^{m} Bowditch or his order, according to the order of Council hereunto annexed hee having given in ſufficient ſecurity for the doing whereof this ſhall bee yo^{r} diſcharge

Given under my hand the 7th day of January 1677

Copie of a Letter to the Go: of Boſton.

N. Y. Jan 7. 1677.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxvii.]

Ho^{BLE} S^{R}.

Yo.^{rs} of No:^{r} 13.th by M.^{r} Bowditch, directed to our Go: or in his abſence to his dep: arrived not here till the 2^{d} inst, which was almoſt 6. weekes after his departure, The contents whereof relate to the delivery of the Ketches at Pemaquid

to the Owners, Its ſuppoſed you meane the former owners, Otherwiſe y^e^ fortune of the warre had apparently made them change Maſt.^rs^ It could have beene right, thoſe perſons had made their claymes or applicacõn for them ſoon^r^, probably ere this they had from Cõmander Knapton, but ſeverall Reports cõming that ſome of thoſe own^rs^ have ſ^d^ they had rather the Indyans had kept their Ketches, then that they ſhould come into the hands of New-Yorke Governm^t^ might in part bee the occaſion why no other order was ſent thither, then for their apprizem^t^, and not broft here the rugged winter ſeaſon ſetting in ſeeming to forbid their removall till spring,

Your opinion about the delivery of the veſſels as well as captives, which you underſtand by the Go:^r^ Letter, to bee mentioned in the peace, ſeemes to bee followed with ſome paſſion in the following clauſe, that if they were not delivered for the benefitt of the right Own^rs^ that loſt them, you ſhould not know to underſtand his mocõns, for I ſuppoſe they will appeare to have tended to y^e^ Gen.^all^ good of his

Ma^ties ſubjects in thoſe parts as well as the intereſts of the Governm^t, & will always bee our aime to act with charity and juſtice towards o^r neighbo^rs. as well as others, & which we could have the like retaliation from them, then ſhould wee not bee ſo often Cenſured & Condemned:

It cannot but bee admited that you ſo often repeate the overtures of peace betweene us & y^e Indyans wrote to you of from Pemaquid, as you ſay & that unleſſe the veſſels were d^d. as well as captives you ſhould not comply on any other termes, ſince if you will againe peruſe o^r Letters you will find that the concluſion wee had made was a poſitive peace beyond any overtures or ceſſacõn of Armes, & our ſending to you, was onely to acquaint you, that we had as neighbo^rs: & ſubjects to one Pr. encluded you if you pleaſed, and if you had refuſed it, upon any nice termes not comprehended in the Agreem^t. wee had made, the prejudice would have redounded to your ſelves, & allthough afterwards by a collaterall Agreem^t. wee got the Ketches to bee encluded, it was not becauſe you mentioned you otherwiſe

ſhould not comply &c., but out of a deſire to the publick Good of his Ma^ties ſubjects, without any private aymes or pretence of particular advantage otherwiſe:

The which that you may find will bee made Good by deeds as well as words, I have with the advice of the Councell upon the application from M^r Bowditch given order for the delivery of the Ketch wherein hee is conſerned hee giving ſecurity to anſwer what ſalvage or other charges there may be adjudged unto at the Go: returne, which you may bee confid.^t will not bee unreaſonable. And in any . . . . elſe ſhall not bee wanting to continue fr . . . correſpondence with o^r neighbo^rs being

Ho:^ble S.^r

Yo.^r moſt humble Serv.^t

N. Y. Jan. 7. 1677. A. B.[1]

[Council Minutes vol iii. Part II. Page 153.]

At a Councell June 9, 1677.

A propoſall being made by the Governor whether it would bee adviſable to

[1] Anthony Brockholls.

ſend to take Poſſeſſion and aſſert the Dukes Intereſt at Pemaquid, & parts adjacent Eaſtward, according to his Roy^{ll} H^{s} Pattent or nott,

Upon conſideracõn had thereupon, It was thought adviſeable ſo to do, And that if we make Peace with the Indyans there the Maſſachuſetts to bee comprized if they Pleaſe.

All the ffiſhermen & old inhabitants to be reſtored and Protected.

* * * *

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxvii.]

To Cap^{t} Anthony Brockholes & the Reſt of y^{e} Councell of y^{e} Government of New-Yorke.

The Humble Peticõn of William Bowditch of Salem in New Engl^{d} Merch^{t}

Sheweth.

That yo^{r} Pet^{r} being bound for Pemaquid in the month of March paſt, to receive his Ketch, brought there by the

Indyans, for y^e^ which he had an Order of Councell, he made purchaſe from the Owners of two other Ketches lying there, that had likewiſe been brought in by the ſaid Indyans, which ſaid Ketches, if ſome ſpeedy care bee not taken about them will be altogether ſpoyled & uſeleſſe, haveing layd hall'd up in a Creeke all this winter, where they are alſo subject to the Hazard of being fired, by ſome malicious Indyan of whome there is too much ſuſpicõn.

You^r^ Pet^r^ doth therefore moſt humbly prai, that hee may have an Order to be poſſeſſt of the ſ^d^ two Ketches, in like manner as hee had for the former, & hee ſhall give ſecurity to pay all ſuch ſalvage and charges as they ſhall be adjudged to pay, at the returne of the Governo.^r^

And yo^r^ pet^n^ will ever pay &c.

[Council Minutes iii. Part II. 163.]

At a Councell 2^d^ Augs^t^ 1677

Cap^t^ Brockholes &c Lett^rs^ from Pemaquid of 12^th^ & 13^th^ of July read.

Ordered ſending to or ſeeking the Indyans not allowable, but if they apply &

ſubmitt according to the Inſtruccõns to bee received, for any Particulars, may apply to the Governo^{r} at New Yorke, for w^{ch} on their Deſire to finde them paſſage in ſome of our ſloops going & returning.

Orders, and Inſtructions to bee very punctually and ſtrictly Obſerved particularly that none on any Pretence whatever, doe range or goe into the woods or creeks, but to uſe all endeavours to ſecure the Open Sea Coaſts and Iſlands as well as defend the ffortt.

To admitt or treat with no p^{r}ſons whatever but upon all Occaſions or applicacõns to refferr to the Governo at New Yorke.

Another Sloope to bee forthwth ſent with y^{e} above Orders and a further Supply of Stores for the Garriſon.

The Garriſon being ſettled that Cap^{t} Brockholes or Enſigne Knapton bee left with fiffty ſoldiers and the Sloopes Company the other Offic^{rs} to Come home as p^{r} former Intimacõn in the Governo^{rs} Lett^{r} the 26th paſt.

Any difference betweene Inhabitants and ffiſhermen to bee determined by M^{r}

Joſeline, or other Juſtice of the Peace but in extraordinary Caſes of great Import or value y^e^ commander to be p^r^ſent, and appeale allowed to the Governo^r^ and Councell at Yorke if deſired according to Law.

[Councell Minutes iii. Part II. 169.]

At a Councell Sep^t^ 11^th^ 1677.

Reſolved that no Inhabitants bee admitted to dwell in his R^ll^ H^s^ Territories at Pemaquid and parts adjacent.

The Indyans there upon their ſubmiſſion admitted and Confirmed to live as other Indyans of the Goverm^t^, they comporting themſelves, and living as they ought.

The trading place to be at Pemaquid & no where elſe.

All Entryes to bee made att New Yorke and no Coaſters or Interlopers allow'd but if any found to be made prize.

All Engliſh ffiſhers to have free liberty of ffiſhing, they conforming themſelves to ſuch orders & rules as ſhall be given for the benefitt of ſaid ffiſhery.

Liberty of Stages upon the ffiſhing Iſlands but not upon the Maine except at Pemaquid neare the ffortt.

The Indyans not to goe to y^e^ ffiſhing Iſlands.

No rum to bee dranke on that ſide the ffort ſtands.

No man to truſt any Indyans.

* * * * *

At a Councell Sept 27. 1677

* * * * *

Lett^rs^ from Pemaquid from M^r^ Caeſar Knapton Commander at Pemaquid, & the ffrench att S^t^ Johns, & Penobſcott read.

Orders and Directions for the Commander att Pemaquid.

[Warrants Orders Paſſes &c iii. 268.]

The Indyans late ſubmiſſion and peace with them admitted and allow'd and comporting themſelves as they ought, to have all Juſtice, and freedome of living neare, converſe and commerſe with us, as all other Indyans of the Government have and do enjoy.

Butt to prevent all Inconveniency's or occaſions of difference, no Indyans to goe to the fiſhing Iſlands, nor Chriſtians admitted or ſuffer'd to inhabit or converſe on the Maine, except att Pemaquid under protection of the Fort, this winter, or till further Order, to which place ſupplys are and ſhall be ſent for all partys.

Traders from Yorke and that bring ſufficient clearings from the Cuſtome houſe according to act of Parliament, to be admitted to ſett up for the preſent trading houſes, under command, butt att convenient diſtance from the Fort, to the Landward, ſo as a ſtreet be left of good breadth, directly from the Fort to the narroweſt part of the neck or point of land the Fort ſtands upon, going to the great neck towards New Harbour; and if endwiſe ſhould any wayes blind, or hinder the fort of the ſight or command of the water, then ſaid houſes to be ſett broadways to the ſaid deſigned ſtreet, to which all Doores to open, and not ſuffer'd on any other ſide or End.

All trade to be in the ſaid Street, in or afore the houſes, between ſun and ſun,

for which the drum to beate, or bell ring every morning & evening, and neither Indyan nor Chriſtian ſuffer'd to drinke any ſtrong drinke, nor lye aſhore in the night, upon the neck or Point of land the Fort ſtands upon, & any preſuming to the contrary or coming there drunk to bee apprehended and puniſhed according to his deſert, and allſo all Traders not giving over, and immediately ſhutting their doors att ſaid time and warning.

No Indyans nor Chriſtians to be Admitted att any time within the Fort except ſome few upon occaſion of buſineſſe below, but none to goe up into the Redout, nor no manner of trade whattever, upon any accompt or pretence whattsoever att no time in or neare the Fort, butt in the above ſtreet, upon penalty of forfeiture of all such traders Goods and priviledge and Corporall puniſhment as the caſe may deſerve.

Fiſhermen giving notice to the Fort, to have all Liberty of making their fiſh on the fiſhing Iſlands, or neare and under the protection of the Fort.

If Occaſion one or more Conſtables to be appointed for the fiſhing Iſlands, and Indyans to have equall Juſtice and Dispatch.

The Duke's ſloop now ſent in the King's ſervice to remaine there all winter, to be conſtantly employed on the coaſt as occaſion, and to take and make prizes, and bring to the Commander in the Fort, any ſhall bee found on the coaſt contrary to the above orders, and the Commander to ſecure or ſend the ſame to Yorke as occaſion, and to take like care thatt the orders and regulations be punctually obſerved neare and under command of the Fort, or tranſgreſſors duly puniſh't.

The Commander if conveniency, and deſired, to receive and ſecure in the Fort the traders beſt Goods or Effects, to which they may reſort att fitting times, and have them when occaſion.

Any Trader or other truſting an Indyan or Indyans except for dry proviſſions, or adulterating Rumme or ſtrong drinke by mixing water or otherwiſe, to forfet the ſame to the party truſted or buying, and be lyable to further cenſure as the Case

may require and the forfieture of the remaining part of ſuch ſtrong Liquor to bee to the Commander, ſatisfying or paying the informer.

The Indyans if plancks att hand or when had, to have an Indyan houſe made over the water, where they may reſort and bee.

New-Yorke, September the 22th 1677.

The above by unanimous advice of my Councell to bee punctually obſerved.

E. Andross.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxvii.]

At a Councell held in New-Yorke the 20th day of Apr Anno Domini 1678.

Upon the addreſſe & Requeſt of Mr William Bowditch of Salem in New England Merch.t ſetting forth his having purchaſed two Ketches from their Owners, the which were brought into Pemaquid by the Indyans upon the Agreement of Peace made the latter end of the Sum̃er, & hee deſiring an order for their delivering unto him tendring ſecurity to pay ſalvage or other Charges they may be lyable unto.

The ſame being taken into Conſidera-cõn, together with the great damage the ſaid Ketches are like to ſuſtaine by lyeing longer in the condicõn they are,

Ordered That they bee delivered unto the ſaid Mr Bowditch or whom he ſhall appoint to receive them together with their Appurtenances hee giving ſecurity here, to pay or make good what ſalvage, or other charges the ſaid Ketch ſhall bee Lyable to & adjuſted to pay by the Go: at his Returne. The which Capt Cæſar Knapſon the Coñander at Fort Charles is hereby deſired forthwith to give order & cauſe to bee done

By order of the Councell.

Letter from Lieut Gov. Brockholls to Capt Knapton

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxvii.]

N. Yorke. June 7. 1678

Capt. Knapton.

Sr. Yors of the 23d of the laſt month came to my hands the begining of this weeke at the arrivall of Hermanus Sloope

who brought Corp^{ll} Caren Tho: Mathews and C Roades with him: I am ſorry for the misfortune of the former The D^{rs} extraordinary care of him deſerves a Requital Matthews I ſoon com̃itted to the hole in the Fort, (who had rec^{d} his merritt if you had im̃ediately run him through upon the affront given you) & Roades hath taken Poſſeſſion of the State houſe whoſe Inſolence & Impudence is beyond compare hee ſtanding ſtill in his Juſtificac$\bar{o}$n, though hee hath very little to ſhew for him ſelfe to beare him out, If hee were at Boſton probably they would truſſe him up, but I thinke it will bee beſt to keepe both the one & the other in durance untill the Go: returne (which wee daily expect,) when they may bee made Examples: I hope hee will approve of what wee haue done in ordering the delivery of the Ketches to M^{r} Bowditch upon ſecurity, however wee think wee haue done for the beſt, & that without any ſiniſter end.

The newes hee brought you of lett^{rs} from the Go: & a Packet in M^{r} Taylers hands for New Yorke was very true, & it arrived here from thence in little time,

by Tho: Lewis ſloope who was then there & ready to come away:

The Go: Letters were dated ffeb. 10th The ſhip he went in gott, in 23 dayes, to the ſoundings off the lands end where the wind proving contrary, they put in to Ireland from thence went to Milford Haven in Wales ſo over land to London where they arrived the 5th of January,

There were great Rumo.rs & preparacõns for a warre with France, The K propoſing to ye Parliam.t to have a ſupply for the maintenance of ninty Capitall Shipps, & thirty or forty thouſand ſoldyers.

The Go: was knighted & diſpatch't away for Guernſey, there to make but little ſtay to returne in order to his coming back hither but when hee writte hee had effected nothing of the buſineſſe hee went about. in Engl ſo knew not what delayes hee may haue mett with ſince. There was little more of Newes he writte about. Wee have not yet any certaine newes of the warre being broken out, though more than propable it is, yet Letters from Engl of Mar: 26. ſay no warre then. As for a ſupply of men you mention in lieu of

thoſe that are dead & that you now ſend, Truly wee are not in a condicõn to doe it but expect the Go: will bring recruites both for yo^{u} & us too, as wee ſhall bee ill provided agst an Enemy wee have fitted up the Fort pretty well, with new platt-formes & carriages, w^{ch} were much out of repaire. The Mayo^{r} & Aldermen are employing their Companyes of the train band about their Fortifications:

The Agreement of Peace made by the Gents of Piſcataway & the Indyan Sachems, between them & the weſt ſide of Kinnebeck River I think is a good piece of worke, for that it will remove the apprehenſions you had of them before:

The Articles you ſent, as alſo the examinacõns and other papers about Roades & Alden, I ſhall reſerve for y^{e} Go:

It ſeemes the Pinnace had better keep there; the ſ^{d} ſloope that was out a Cruiſing & Lieut Sharpe did well in bringing the Ketch & Roades into Pemaquid, their trading there being expreſſe ag.st the Go: orders: The matter is well knowne here having loſt a good Ketch formerly to the Dutch & had this given him in Exchange

(as I am informed) when hee comes, wee ſhall heare what hee will ſay in his Juſtificacõn, but I admire hee ſhould run ſuch a hazard & ſuffer himſelfe to bee deceived by ſuch an Impoſtor as Roads: hee himſelfe being likewiſe a Memb. where Roads was condemned to bee hanged for Piracy, ſo that I thinke hee will have but little thankes from the brethren, to joyne intereſt with ſuch a cheate.

It was kindly done of Madackowando to give you the notice of their . . . . . a trading:

As for Mr Sturts Informacõn hee did neither wiſely nor civilly in it, however the matter being paſt & hee expreſſing his being troubled for it, I ſhall paſſe it by without ſaying more of it, but hee may bee adviſed for the future not ſo buſily to intermedle in other peoples buſineſs.

Thus having as neare as may bee anſwered the particulars of yor letter, I remaine Sr

Yor humble Servant

N. Y. June 7.th 1678.

Order for the ſurrender of a Ketch.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxvii.]

At a Councell &c June: 12. 1678

Preſt.

The Councell

Mr May . . .

& Delavall.

The occaſion of meeting was the Arrivall of Mr John Alden of Boſton, whoſe caſe & Examinacõn had beene returned here before the Coñander from Pemaquid, His Ketch[1] having beene ſeized upon in St Georges River to the Eaſtward, by order of the ſd Coñander for trading in thoſe parts with the Indyans or others, contrary to the order of this Governmt; & ſhee lyeing thereupon under arreſt together with her cargoe at Pemaquid,

Whereunto the ſd Mr Alden pleading Ignorance of the ſd order, & beleiving not to have infringed the ſame ſuppoſing thoſe parts where hee had traded & then was in, were without the bounds of his R: Hs. patent, & within the conqueſt made by

[1] From a rough draft of theſe minutes, with that from which this was copied, it appears that this veſſel was named the Guift, of Boſton.

the duke upon the French in thoſe parts, in the yeare 1674. As hee was informed by John Roades, who hee had hired to bee with him as being knowne in thoſe parts & acquainted with the trade and was one of thoſe that accompanyed the Duke privateer in that Expedicõn, The ſ^d M^r Alden likewiſe repreſenting the great loſſe hee had formerly ſuſteyned in the late Dutch warre together w^th his great charge at home & innocence farre from preſumption in y^t he had acted, Therefore deſiring the favo^r of the Councell that hee might haue his Ketch & Cargoe reſtored unto him:

Upon Conſideracõn had of the Caſe & the good character of the p^rty it is ordered, That the ſ^d Ketch & Cargoe now under arreſt at Pemaquid as aforeſ^d bee delivered back to the ſ^d John Alden or his order (the which C. Caeſar Knapton Comander of ffort Charles in Pemaquid is deſired to ſee done upon receit hereof) Hee the ſ^d John Alden having given ſecurity of 240^lb for the paym^t of 120^lb here if at the Go: returne ſhee ſhall be Condemned a Prize for breach of the Order afoer men-

cõned: the f^d ſume of 120^lb being by Merch^ts adjudged to bee the value of the f^d Ketch & Cargoe.

By Order of the Councell

Letter from Lt Gov Brockhols to C Knapton

July 1^st 1678.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxvii.]

Having rec^d a letter from Cap^t. Saliſbury of the 24^th paſt, concerning ſome preparacõns & intended deſignes of the Maques ag^ſt their Ennemyes, I was willing to advertize you of it, by this opportunity of Gabriell Thompſons goeing to Boſton, (who hath promiſt to take care of the conveyance of this to you.)

I the rather give you this intelligence being informed that the Vnnagoungos are the Indyans neare yo^r parts, which if ſo, probably yo^r giving them notice to bee upon their Guards, will lay ſome obligacõn of friendſhip upon them, the which you may advize with M^r Jocelyn about and accordidgly act therein:

Wee are all well here, but no farther newes from the Go: yet, nor of any certa'ty of Peace or Warre. Having nothing more to comunicate I take leaue & remaine,

S^r^ Yo^r^ friend & Serv^t^.

A Copie of that pt of Co Saliſburyes lett^r^ relating thereunto I have ſent here incloſed . . . . . the rather &c.

My Service to Mr Jocelyn.
... Nicolls deſires his may bee
... reſented to y^e^ both.

July 1^st^ 1678:

Council Orders relating to Pemaquid.

[Council Minutes vol iii. Part II. Page 180.]

At a Councell held in New Yorke Auguſt the 23^d^ 1678.

The Affaires of Pemaquid being taken into conſideracõn — Reſolved That the former orders ſent there relating either to Chriſtian or Indyan doe continue in force untill the Spring, as farre weſtward as Blacke Point when his Hon^r^ the Governour to goe there and take order about the Settlem^t^ of Planters or Inhabit^ts^ trade and all

other matters of which notice is to bee given or in the meane time, any others may apply as occaſion at New Yorke.

That no Indyan Trade bee admitted at Pemaquid but from and to this place to prevent Inconvenience.

That the Garriſon Officers and Souldy.rs doe continue in y.e ffort there untill the Spring Except Sicke or unfitt perſons deſiring it, ſhall have Leave to Come away.

* * *

A Speciall Commiſſion to the Court of Seſſions att Pemaquid for the Tryall of Iſreal Dymond and John Raſhly About the Drowneing of Sam.ll Collins.

[Orders Warrants &c xxxii½.]

S.r Edmund Andros.

Kn.t &c. To Enſigne Thomas Sharpe Commander att Pemaquid John Joſlyne Eſq.r Juſtice of the peace in Quorum, M.r John Dollin M.r Lawrance Dennis and M.r John Jourdaine Juſtices of the Peace Greeting Whereas upon Informacõn that Iſrael Dymont and John Raſhly Stand

Committed about the Drowneing of Samuel Collins from on board the Ketch Cumberland Whereof the ſaid Dymont was Maſter in yo^r parts, To the end that they may be braught to their faire and Legall Tryall and Juſtice Duly Adminiſtered, I doe hereby Appoint Authorize and Impower you at yo^r next or vſuall Court of Seſſions to be holden att Pemaquid aforeſaid to Call before you the Perſons of the ſaid Iſrael Dymont and John Raſhly and them upon Such Indictm^t p^rſenm^t, or Complaint, that ſhall be Exhibited on ſaid matter to heare try and Examine, and ſuch Judgm^t, or Sentance to pronounce and Declare thereupon as the Law in Such Caſes Directs, and to cauſe the ſame to be Duly Executed accordingly And for ſoe Doeing this ſhall be yo^r ſufficient warr^tt and Diſcharge. Given under my hand and Sealed w^th the Seale of the Prouince &c Dated the 6:^th of January: 1680.

Council Orders relating to Pemaquid.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxix.]

At a Councell &c. June 24th, 1680.

Ordered, That ſome perſons bee appointed to goe from hence to Pemaquid, for holding Corts.

That in their way they call in at ffiſhers Iſland, the Governmt whereof is to bee aſſerted, & that a Conſtable bee appointed there. They are likewiſe to put in at Martins Vineyard & Nantucket, that fitt Magiſtrates may be elected & confirmed there & that they be required to ſend one of their former number hither, to anſwer their neglect in not making due returnes of their Elections the laſt Yeare.

Blanck Civill Comiſſions for Martins Vineyard & Nantuckett.

Military Comiſſions for Pemaquid.

June 26. Saggadock magiſtrates or offics to continue, the Cort to try onely for 40s inſtead of 5lb formerly granted them.

ffiſhermen to come to Pemaquid yearly to renew their Engagents, & not to ſplitt or fling out their Gurry, or to trade with

the Indyans to the prejudice of the fiſhery & hazard of thoſe parts

Capt Knapton & M^r^ Weſt to haue com̃iſſion to joine with the Co^rt^ there.

Land to bee given out indifferently to thoſe that ſhall come & ſettle, but no trade to bee at any other place than Pemaquid & none at all with the Indyans as formerly ordered.

The Juſtice alone or any two of the Commiſſion^rs^ or Aſſiſtants to haue permiſſion (out of Co^rt^) to judge of any caſe or treſpaſſe under the ſume of 40^s^.

At a Councell &c June 25, 1680.

Preſent the Gov & Councell.[1]

* * * *

Pemaquid.

C. Knapton, to goe to Pemaquid

The Go^rs^ ſpeech to the Indyans when there.

M^r^ Jocelyn a com̃iſſion to bee Juſtice

[1] From a rough draft full of eraſures and interlineations.

Mr Potter Laurence Durrie, & Richard Redding to be Comiſſionrs & Aſſiſtts in the Cortts of ſeſſions, to try to 20lb .... .. Cort.

A Comiſſion for the Juſtices &c.

Appeal to the Aſſize

Sagadock Magiſtrates are... to continue the Cort to try only for 40s in ſtead of 5lb formerly granted them.

Land to be given out indifferently to thoſe that ſhall ſettle but no trade but at Pemaquid & none at all with the Indyans as formerly ordered.

All ffiſhermen to come to Pemaquid yearly to renew their engagemt. and not to ſplitt or fling out their Gurry on ye fiſhing ground or to trade with the Indyans to the prejudice of the fiſhery & hazard thoſe pts.

C. Knapton & Mr Weſt to haue comiſõns to joyne with the Cort there.

The Juſtice alone or any 2, comiſſionrs to have power to judge of any caſe under 40s

* * * * *

A Commiſſion to Capt. Caeſar Knapton and Mr John Weſt to bee Juſtices att Pemaquid.

[General Entries xxxii. 92.]

Sr Edmund Andros Knt. &c By vertue of his Maties Letters pattents and the Commiſſion and Authority unto mee given under his Royall Highneſſe I doe hereby in his Maties name Conſtitute & Appoint you Capt Cæſar Knapton and Mr John Weſt to bee Juſtices of the peace at Pemaquid and dependences Giving you full power & Authority to act as Juſtices of the peace according to Law, and former practice; And all perſons whom it may concerne are Strictly Charged and Required to give you due Reſpect and obedience accordingly Given under my hand and ſeale of ye Province this 26th day of June in the 32th yeare of his Maties Raigne Annoq Dominj 1680

A Commiſſion for Henry Joceline Eſqr to bee a Juſtice of the Peace in Quorum &c to bee Juſtices at Pemaquid.

Sr Edmund Andros Knt. &c By vertue of his Maties Letters Pattents and the Com-

miſſion and Authority unto mee given under his Royall Highneſſe I doe hereby in his Ma^ties^ name Conſtitute and Appoint you Henry Joceline, Eſq^r^ to bee Juſtice of the Peace in Corum and you M^r^ John Dollen M^r^ Laurence Dennis M^r^ Richard Redding & Com̃ander of Pen to bee Juſtices of the peace together with the Com̃ander of Pemaquid for the time being to bee a Court of Seſſions to bee held in Pemaquid for the Jurisdiccõn thereof Giving you or any of you (whereof the Juſtice of the peace in Corum or Com̃ander to bee one) full power and Authority to keepe a Court and to act according to Law and former practiſe, And all perſons whom it may concerne are ſtrictly Charged and Required to give you due reſpect and obedience accordingly This Commiſſion to bee of force for the ſpace of one whole yeare from the date hereof and till renewed Given under my hand and Seale of the Province in New Yorke this 26^th^ day of June in the 32^th^ yeare of his Ma^ties^ Raigne Anno q Dominj 1680.

Council Orders relating to Pemaquid.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxix.]

N. Y. At a Councell &c Sept 14, 1680.

Prest The Go: & Councell--&c

C Knapton
Mr Weſt.

Pemaquid affaires by C Knapton & Mr Weſt

Izrael Dymont & John Raſhly; queſtioned at ye .... orders there held 4th Aug. laſt--for drowning Sam Collins & being aboue their Cogniſance &c referred to Next Cort in Pem & ordered to have a Comiſſion ſent there to this purpoſe.

Walter Moore &c .....

Henry Palmer--Dept--for Debt

An order of Cort ſerved

The Cort to bee the laſt Wedneſday in June & firſt in Nor. The next Cort in June.

Severall ordrs paſt read, ſigned by Mr Weſt Clarke. & Lre to Juſtice Jordan &c

To write to Pemaquid that what is done is approved of & about the Maques that they are forbid, & that they ſhould do the like by their Indyans, not to goe out one agſt ye other to warre

A Letter to Enſigne Sharpe att Pemaquid

[Orders Warrants &c xxxii½.]

Septemb^{r} y^{e} 15th 1680.

Enſigne Sharpe

Yours by Cap^{t}. Knapton received I have ſent you by this bearer thirty pounds in mony which I would haue you with the advice of Cap^{t} Redding Lay out on a good Sailing Shallop.

That may be for the forte or Publikue Vſe theire but Suppoſe you may light on one Cheaper. I heare things at preſſent are well and in good Ord^{r} and hope you will ſo Continue Take Care to keepe the plattforme in the fort in good repaire w^{ch} I judge you may doe by Wattering or throwing ſtuffe or Earth thereupon P^{r}ſuming that noe ordinary weight Cann P^{r}judice it I haue alſoe ſent you ſupplyes * * * for as p^{r} incloſſed Invoice, And am

Yo^{r} Affectionate friend
E. A.

A Letter to Mr Juſtice Jordaine att Richmond Iſland nere Caſkobay.

[Orders Warrants &c xxxii½.]

New Yorke the 15th of Septembr 1680

Mr Juſtice Jourdaine,

Capt Knapton and Mr Weſt being arrived have Given me an account of their actings Eaſtward and yor particuler well faire which I ſhall alwayes Endeavour, and to that end doubt not of your redyneſſe to performe and execute the truſt in you repoſed as Settled not apprehending any alteracõn or inovacõn of Governmt. butt may aſſure yorſelfe that each perſon in Authority diſcharging their duty ſhall have all Juſt protection and Encouragmt, and be Endemnified accordingly I have taken care to prevent Mahakes incuſſons by forwarning ſaid Mahakes warring with our Indyans and now ſend like ordrs for or ſaid Indyans wch I doubt not will be obſerved however aught not to bee Careleſſe I ſhall not bee wanting in my duty in Every reſpect and as occaſion lett you heare from me of which you are not to

faile on your parts and w^th^ Commendations to others authorized in your parts w^th^ you Remaine:

Your Affectionate friend
E. A.

Order for reſtraining Indian Hoſtilities.

[Orderr Warrants &c xxxii½.]

The Governo^rs^ ord^r^ to be Declared to the Indyans att Pemaquid ſent to the Commander and Magiſtrates there

The Governo.^r^ hath ſent to forbid the Mahakes and doth lett you know you muſt not warr upon each other being within and of the Governm^t^. But whereas many partyes may be out you will doe well Carefully to looke out and avoyd all ſurpriſes till you be Aſſertained all are returned home and things Quiett and Well. The Cheifeſt Sachems to be ſent for and the aboue ord^r^ Signified to them after w^ch^ to give then Something more then they could Deſerve for Comeing ſuch a Journey.

Sep^tb^: y^e^ 15^th^ 1680.
E A.

A Letter to Enſigne Sharpe.

[Orders Warrants &c xxxii½.]

New Yorke y^e^ 15^th^. Septemb^r^ 1680.

Enſigne Sharpe.

I have by M^r^ Wells and one writt by M^r^ Weſt anſwered your^s^ of the 7^th^ Inſtant except what relates to M^r^ Joſlyne whom I would have you uſe with all fitting reſpect Conſidering what he hath been and his age, And if he Deſire and ſhall build a houſe for himſelfe to lett him Chooſe any lott and pay him ten pound towards it or if he ſhall Deſire to hyre ſoe to live by him ſelfe then to Engage and pay the rent either of which ſhall be allowed you in yo^r^ account as alſoe ſufficient proviſion for himſelfe and wife as he ſhall Deſire out of the Stores letting me know p^r^ this returne how hee deſires it or what, that I may Settle it. Commendations to M^rs^ Sharpe

I remaine,

Yo^r^. Affectionate friend

E. A.

A Commiſſion for Cap^t ffrancis Skinner to be Command^r att Pemaquid and Parts Eaſtward.

[Orders Warrants &c. xxxii½.]

By the Com̃ander in Chiefe

I doe hereby Conſtitute and appoint you Cap^t ffrancis Skinner to be Command^r att Pemaquid and Parts Eaſtward under the Governm^t. of his Roy^ll Highneſſe you are therefore to take Care that the Militia in the ſeverall Places be well armed Duly Exerciſed and Kept in good ord^r. and Diſcipline and the officers and ſould^rs thereof are Required to obey you as their Command^r, and yo^rſelfe to obſerve ſuch ord^rs and Direcc̃ons as you ſhall from time to time Receive from me or other yo^r ſuperiour Officers according to the Rules and Diſcipline of Warr and the truſt Repoſed you Given und^r my hand and Seale in New Yorke this 30^th of Auguſt 1681.

A. B.

Inſtructions for Cap^t Ffrancis Skinner Commander att Pemaquid.

[Orders Warrants &c. xxxiii½.]

Att yo^r Arrivall att Pemaquid you are to Demand of the Preſent Command.^r and take poſſeſſion of the Garriſon or fforte there and to take into yo^r. Charge Care and Management the Sould^rs thereunto Belonging and for them to Provide and furniſh all Due Proviſions and necesaryes as formerly.

You are Likewiſe to take an Exact account of all Stores and Ammunition as you ſhall find there and send me an account thereof and what Condicõn you finde the place in and of yo^r voyage thither.

You are to be verry Carefull to Prevent any Diſorders or Trouble amongst Indians and others and to ſee that they be Civilly vſed as formerly and that the ord^rs about Regulateing the trade and ffiſhery be obſerved·.·

You are to keep Due account of all Diſburſm^ts for the fforte or Souldiers or othear publique Charge, and ſend the ſame to me with an account of yo^r Proceedings

and actings from time to time by all Convenient Oppertunity

Given und^{r} my hand in New Yorke the 30th Day of Auguſt 1681.

A B.

Letter from Lieut Gov. Brockholls to Enſign Sharpe.

[Orders Warrants &c xxxiii½.]

New Yorke Aug^{ſt}: the 30th 1681.

Enſigne Thom. Sharpe.

I have herewith for yo^{r} Reliefe ſent Cap^{t}: Skinner to be Command^{r} for Pemaquid and Parts Eaſtward You are therefore to Deliver up the Garriſon and Sould^{rs} now und^{r} yo^{r} Command to him and by the firſt Oppertunity Repaire heither which will be neceſſary as ſoone as poſſible M^{r} Wells Being Goeing for England that you ſettle yo^{r} accounts with him before his Departure.

Remaine

Yo: Affectionate ffriend

A: B:

Extract from a letter of Lieut Gov. Brockholls, to the Governor, dated New York Sept: 17th, 1681.

[Orders Warrants &c xxxiii½.]

* * * *

What men are Left I Continue att Pemaquid Severall Being Deaed and Apprehenſions of Trouble wth the Indians. Cannot more Leſſen the Garriſon there, But haue ſent to Releiue Sharpe that he may make up his accounts with Mr Wells Before his Departure for England which is Intended with my Lady in the Beaver who Judge will be Ready to Saile about a month this time.

* * * *

Articles of Aſſociation for the Settlement of a town upon Sheepscot River.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

Att a Meeting att Mr Robert Gibbers Houſe att ffort hill in Boſton Held this nintenth Day of Augſt in ye thirty fourth yeare of ye Reigne of our Souerigne Lord Charles ye Second by ye grace of God of

England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King, Defender of y^e^ ffaith: & Annoq Chriſty: 1682 Wittneſſeth; That whereas there was a neck of Land Suruaide & a towne Laid out vpon y^e^ Said necke Generally knowne & called by y^e^ name of Maſons & Jewtts neck Lieing & beeing in Shipscutte Riuer,& a townesſhip bounded to y^e^ ſaid towne; y^e^ ffourth Day of July Extent by Sq^e^ Joſlinge Juſtis In Corrum with ſeurall other of y^e^ ffformer Inhabitance of ſaid Riuer in Company with y^e^ ſaid Juſtis as Afforeſaid; therefore it was thought neſſicary & Conuaeniant ffor y^e^ proppigatting & Bennifitt of Said towne & townesſhipe & ffor y^e^ privilidges theirof to call this Meeting where was Mett ſeuerall of y^e^ ffformer proprieto^rs^: & Inhabitance with their Aſſociats whoſe names are vnderneath Subſcribed who Did Joyntly Bind themſelues to ſtand to seuerall Articles of Agreement ffor y^e^ ſettelling and Sittuating of ſaid towne & townesſhipe for y^e^ good & Bennifiſhall Aduancement theirof; theirfor to that purpoſe this Couenant & Agreement is Drawne; & is Affearmed with y^e^ hand

& ſeale of Euery perſon heare p[r]eſent y[e] Artickles ffolloweth, Viz.

Imp[r]s. Firſt. Itts: thought neſſicery that Euery fforemer Inhabitante properiato[r] & owne[r] of any Lands Medow grounde & ſalt or ffreſh with all their fformer priuilidges wrights or tittalles in any wiſe whatsoeuer of their former Rights Into y[e] fforeſaid towneſhipe ffor y[e] ffuter good & bennifitt theirof muſt & ſhall bee throwne Into ſaid towneſhipe y[e] ffruitt trees barnes houſing & ffencing ſtuff only to bee Excepted but all other priuilidges of any perſon or perſons whatsoeuer muſt & ſhall belonge to ſaid towneſhip as aboue is ſpeſified.

Secondly. Itts ffurther Agreed that Euery perſon & perſones whatsoeuer that Intend, to Settell build plant & Mannuer in y[e] ſaid towne thus Laid out & Suruayed ffor that Intent muſt & ſhall Repaire to y[e] ſaid neck of Land or towne as affore menſhoned: to make preperration ffor their ſettelling & building of ſaid towne twelue mounths Affter the twenty ninth Day of September Inſuing y[e] Date of theſe p[r]eſents in y[e] yeare 1683; y[e] 29: Day of

Septembe^{r} beeing y^{e} ffirtheſt tim Appoynted According to Agreement vpon y^{e} fforfituer & penelty of Louſing all their wrights & tittells to or of any part or parſell of ſaid towne or towneſhipe Except ſuch properiaters Children that are att prentis or not att agg^{e}: then to Mannuer & poſſeſs their Lotts: when Layd out p^{r} Men which muſt & ſhall bee Choſen p^{r} y^{e}: Towne ffor that Intent & purpoſe.

Thirdly. Itts ffurther Agreed that their ſhall bee a ſpeſhall & ſpeedy order taken that their may bee a Conueniante place as a tract of Land Laid out for A Miniſtree with a Conueniant place to ſett a meeting houſe to y^{e} beſt aduantage for y^{e} towne & allſo that wee may haue a miniſter of our owne ffree choyce & ſuch a man as y^{e} Mager parte of y^{e} towne ſhall Like & Approue of ffor that End.

ffourthly, Itts ffurther Concluded that as ſone as any Men that haue ſubſcribed their hands & ſeales to theſe p^{r}eſents ſhall or may come to Make way ffor bulding or ſettelling they may & ſhall haue ffree Leaue & Lycence to Lay out & bound

their home Deuiſhones that Lyes near y^e^ towne without Any hendrance or Diſturbance of or by any perſon or perſons whatſoever; moreouer it is Agreed that noe perſon nor perſons whatſoeuer ſhall buld any veſells ſmall or great Cutt or Cary away any timber ſpeares ffencing ſtuffe hay thache or any other Marchendyes out of ſaid towne or townſhipe without y^e^ Leaue Licence & Approbaccõn of ſaid towne Inhabitance then & their ſettelled.

ffifthly. Itts Likewiſe Agreed that all ſuch perſones that ſhall or may firſt ſettell & are their Reddy to Improue their lotts as ffencing & working ffor y^e^ Improuements of Said home Lotts Shall & may haue free Liberty & Licence to Lay out & bound their out Deuiſhons for their beter Aduantage & fforwarding of their Improuements without any hendrance or Diſturbance of any perſon or perſones whatſoever & Euery mans Lotts ſhall be Equally Deuided euery manes equall proportion of Vplands & meadow both freſh & ſalt with all other..... toune ſhall ſee it..... ffor y^e^ ſaid towne .....

Sixtly. Itts ffurther Agreed that euery man both houſe keepers & ſingell perſones att y^e^ Agge of ſixtene yeares; muſt & ſhall prouide three pounds of good powder with twelve pounds of Lead bullet & Swann ſhot: ffor a towne Store & allſo to keep a good ffier Loke muſcet or ffowling gonne all to bee Redy for a ſtoke to preuent y^e^ heathen or a forrin Inuaſhon: & to haue two Sufficient men Choſen for that end to ſee euery man ſo provided according to order.

Seuenthly. Itts Likewiſe ffirther Agreed: that noe perſon nor perſones muſt not neither ſhall they nor any of them buld any dwelling houſe or Cauſe it to bee bult in Any part of y^e^ townehipe but only vpon that neck of Land Layed out & ſuruayed for that End & purpoſe vntill ſuch time as y^e^ towne ſhall ſee it meete & fitt & that it may bee ffor y^e^ Aduancment & benefitt of y^e^ Affore menſhoned towne & touneſhip According to Agreement.

Eightly. Itts Likewiſe ffurther Concluded that Euery Inhabitant of ſaid

Towne & towneſhip muſt & ſhall haue free Liberty & Licence without any Diſturbance or Moleſtation of any perſon or perſones whatſoever to tranſport any timber planke ſpeares pip ſtaues or any other prouiſhon or Marchandize whatſoeuer with any veſell or veſells great or ſmall to any porte or ports that are ffree as Boſton or Els where without paying any Dutyes or Cuſtomes in Eſpeſhall maner y^e^ grauth of our owne Country; where wee Inhabit.

Ninthly. Itts moreover Agreed vpon ffurther Conſiderations that Euery Anſhant & fformer properriator that haue any Children Allredy borne; that it is ffreely graunted that any of thoſe Children ſhall haue as free Liberty Leaue & Licence to Come Into ſaid towne or towneſhip of Shipscutt Riuer & haue Lotts Layd out for them by the ſelect men Choſen for that purposs of all Lands medow ground & all other priuilidges whatſoever without paying any Sumpſhan of mony or moneyes worth or any other grattuity whatſoeuer but ſhall bee as free Denisenes as any of

theſe allredy ſettelled; allſo that euery former owner Mannuerer or propriato^{r} may & ſhall haue ffree Libertye Leaue & Licence to Remoue take offe or ſell all or any of their ffruit trees garden ſtuff houſing barn timber or other hewed timb^{r} planke bords ffencing ſtuffe & Like except it bee y^{e} timber now growing in or vpon y^{e} towne or townehipe y^{e} towne or townsmen Agreeing to this, that then y^{e} ſaid Walter Phillips Jenier ſhall & will agree to & with y^{e} ſaid towne & townsmen vpon all ffuter Affeares & ſtand to what they may now or hereafter Acct. in y^{e} fforefittuer & penallty of Louſing all his former propriateyes within y^{e} Limites of ſaid townehipe as he ſhall Atteſtie by ſubſcribing his hand to this Laſt Artickle to that end & purpoſs.

Tenthly & Laſtly. Itts moreouer Agreed that all thoſe men that haue Subſcribed their hands & ſeales to all theſe aboue Menſhoned Artickles Made y^{e} 19 Day of Auguſt 1682 as aboue may & ſhall haue their ffree Liberty & Licence Ether them ore ſom of them or y^{e} Mager part of them

att publick Meeting Appoynted for that purpoſe to make Choyce of take in or Incuridge any Reſponſabell Credable or Benyfiſhall man or men of Craftſmen Merchants or y^e^ Like without any Deniall hendrance or Moleſtaſhon: & ffor y^e^ Manifeſtation & Confirmation of all & Euery of y^e^ Aboue ſpecified Artickles wee haue all Joyntly & ſeuerally hearvnto Subſcribed our Hands & Seales y^e^ Day & yeare ffirſt Aboue Righten Regny Regis Carilus Secundus

As Atteſt. Vpon a ffurther Conſideration beefore Signed & Sealed it is Intended that Euery perſon & perſons y^t^ now doe or at any time or times heareaffter ſhall Manneur & Settell y^e^ Aboue ſaid towne & towneſhipe muſt & ſhall Enioy all & euery parte & perſill of ſaid towne & towneſhipe to ſay y^e^ wholl Premiſſes & bounds thereof to bee free Lands to bee Enioyed by vs & to vs to our heires ffor Euer without any hendrance diſturbance or Moleſtation in any wiſe whatſoeuer by any perſon or perſons Except it ſhould bee Inuaded by a forrin naſhun & Deſerted

by all y^e^ Inhabitance as aboue ſhall bee & now is Confirmed as p^r^ our hands & Seales.

W^t^ JOHN ALLYEN.
THOMAS GENT.
CHRISTOPHER DYER.
THOMAS MENER
ROBERT SCOTT
his R marke
WILLIAM LOWERING
JOHN WHIT
his -I-marke.
DANIEL GENTT
his (-(marke
WILL^M^ WILLCUTT
JOHN BROWNE
his B. mark
JOHN DIER
his -I- marke
CALEB RAY
ELIZABETH PHYPS
hir marke
DAUID RANSFORD
his ℨ marke

Allowed by me; 30^th^ August 1682.
HENRY TOWLYN Jus in . . .

Theſe within Articles Recorded in the Book of Records at Pemaquid and Examined by me

W^M^ SHORT Cl: Seſs.

We whos Names are vnder written Doe Teſtify vpon oath y^t^ we ſaw Henry Towlyn Eſq^r^ Juſtis in quo Sign this within mentioned Artickles with his own hand as wittnes our hands

WILLIAM LOUERIDGE
THOMAS GENT,
BATH ANDERSON
CHRISTO DYE Conſtable

Theſe three men are now Sworn at New Dartmouth this 16th Day of September 1684 Before me

GILES GODDARD Juſt in quo

A Letter From Capt Brockholls to Juſtice Joſline att Pemaquid, New Yorke Auguſt 24th 1682.

[Orderr Warrants &c xxxii½.]

Sir

In Anſwer to yors of the 17th: July I am Glad to heare of the Settlement of yor Partes which muſt be Encouraged and is Left to your Mannagment with the adviſe of the Commander and thoſe in Place According to the Regulacõns and Orders given by the Governor, which ſtill Remaine in Force and muſt be Attended and Obſerved accordingly The number of Perſons you mencõn will add much to the ſtrength and trade of the Country which Shall Endeavour to Supporte the Proper plans for Settlemt. You are beſt Acquainted with Therefore Left to you

as Aforeſaid to Order the Laying out what wrott by Caſtine is of noe Importe you Knowing the Extent of his Roy[ll] High[s] Limitts which muſt be Maintained according to his Pattent

Have nothing of news butt Dayly Expećted from England all well here my Reſpećts to yo[u] ſelfe and Wife is the only needfull att p[r]ſent from

Sir

Yo[r] Affećtionate ffriend

A. B.

Commiſſion for Settling the Duke of York's Title.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

Coll Tho. Dongan Liev[t] Gov[r] and Vice Admirall under his Royall High[ss] of New Yorke & Dependencyes in America.

By virtue of the authority Derived unto me I do hereby Conſtitute and appoint you, Enſigne Thomas Sharp John Allen Eſq. Juſtices of the peace M[r] Richard Pattishall M[r] Alex[r] Waldrop M[r] Thomas

Gyles or any three of you to be Commiſſioners for the ſettling his Royall Highnes territoryes between the River Kenebeck and St Croix Giving you full power and authority to act as commiſſioners and to conſult make rules and orders for the good and wellfare of the ſaid places and Government and to call to question and puniſh all offenders according to law and practiſe and all perſons whom it may concerne are ſtrictly charged & required to give you due reſpect & obedience accordingly . . . .

Affidavits Concerning Indian Hoſtilities.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxi.]

Jan 28. 1683.

James Dennes aged 26 yeares or thare about and now liuing in Kenebeck Riuer, and Being a ſubject true to our Souraigne lord the King and hearing the Ingans threatning the Eingliſh

This deponant ſaith that he hard the Ingans ſay one that is counted a Captaine

amonge them he ſaid, that his hart would neuer Be well tell he had killd ſome of the Eingliſh againe and threatening that he would Burne the Engliſh houſes and make the Engliſh Slaues to them as they ware Before. Seuerall times Before this Ingen which was called By the Engliſh Captaine Antoneie then a nother Capt ſaid to this ſaid Anthonie that he ſhould hould his peace and not tell what he had amind to doe and furder ſaid that he heard a Ingen woman ſay of her one acourd that ſhe would not Be heare when the wars was if ſhe could help it for the Ingans was ſo bad thay would make wars and ſhe could not abid to ſee her Engliſh naighbours kild and beſide ſhe was afraid the Engliſh would kill her and furder ſaith not only the Ingans are going to Canada and ſay they will be Back againe in apreill inſuing the Date here of

Giuen on oath before me

Laurence Denny
Juſtes of Peaſe

Date ffebury 22. 1683.

John Hornibroke aged 30 yeres or thare about.

This deponant ſaith that it is a genurall ſaing among the Ingens that they will haue wars againe and furder ſaith that thare was four Ingans lay at his houſe and one of the Ingans ſaid that he would Stab a Engliſh man with his knive and Run away when he had dun and furder ſaith that a Ingan ſaid that the hachet hung ouer our heads and he did not know how ſonne it might fall and Before that was he would giue John Hornibroke notice that he might go away and he was a weary of keeping the Ingans for falling out with the Engliſh and he would keep them no longer and furder ſaith that the Ingans did threaten to burne Engliſh houſes and make them Slaues as they ware Before and furder ſaith

As farr as I vnderſtand by John Hornibroke that the aboue ſaid writing is Reported by the Indians for truth JOHN ROWDON

That the Ingans did Report that they would go to Canada and fetch ſtrength to fall on the Engliſh and ſome of the Chefe of them is gon to Canada all Ready to fetch guns and amanition and they ſaid that they would make the greateſt armie that euer yet among them.

Laurence Denny
Juſtes of the peace

The Depoſhiſhon of John Voanny & Will Bacon y^e^ one Agged 55 yeares & y^e^ other 35 Dito

Teſtifieth & Saith,

That y^e^ ſaid partyes ſetting fforth one purpoſe in y^e^ beehalfe of y^e^ Reſt of ther neghbors & with their vrgent Requeſt & Deſier to ſearch out y^e^ truth of y^e^ Ingen newes y^t^ was going Amongſt vs. Wee did take our Viage ffrom Kenybecke to Caſco bay wheare wee did Repeare to M^r^ James Andrews houſe to learn how Affears went their & y^e^ ſaid Andrews did willingly Informe vs that ane Indion which did Comenly Repear to his houſe & M^r^ Walter Cendalles ffor Releefe did

ſay if y^e ſaid Andrews & Cendall would not diſcloſe his name that then hee would diſcloſe what hee knew Conſerning y^e Indons Againſt y^e Engliſh & Affter thay had promiſed hee told them that y^e Indones was Minded to Riſe in Rebellyon againe & Cutt off y^e Engliſh but how ſone hee could not yett tell but when thay did & hee ſee their Reſalution hee would ſend them or bring them a burch Rine as though hee had brought them a Leter & ffurther ſaith not

Y^e ſame deponent further ſaith y^t .... did Informe them that thay had ffallen one a ffortnight agone had thay not disagreed in their Judgment which did all that time preuent their Abſolute Intenſhons & further ſaith not

Tacken before me this
28 day of ffebruary 1683

P^r Jno Allyen Jus of Peace

The Depoſhiſhon of John Molton Aged 50 yeares or their abouts testyfieth & Saith,

That hee being Cutting of wood in his ffeld y^t^ goodwife Cutery called to him & ſaid that ſhould luke to himſelfe for their was an Indeon would do him a miſchiefe & y^e^ ſaid Molton Luked about & ſaw an Indeon Coming threw ſaid Cuteryes ffeild ouer to ſaid Molton without ſpeaking one word but came to ſaid Molton with his knife in his hand and profered to ſtab ſ^d^ John Molton w^th^ y^e^ ſame twice, & then ſaid Molton defended himſelfe with his Axe & threatining y^e^ ſaid Indon to Cut out his braynes with y^e^ Same & when y^e^ ſaid Indeion ſee that, hee Deperted ffrom y^e^ ſaid John Molton & went towards M^r^ Samuell Boles his houſe & ffurther ſaith not.

Taken upon oath before mee
ffebuary y^e^ 28 Day 168$\frac{3}{4}$

P^r^ Jno Allyene Jus of Peaſe

A Letter from Cap^t Brockholls to M^r Ffrancis Skinner att Pemaquid

[General Entries xxxiii. 55.]

New Yorke May 10^th^: 1683.

M^r Ffrancis Skinner

S^r

Am Sorry the Looſneſſe and Careleſſeneſſe of your Command gives Oppertunity for Strangers to take notice of your Extravigancyes and Debaucheryes and that Complaints muſt come to me thereof being what your Office and Place ought to prevent and puniſh, to which perceive have Little Regard nor to the former Orders and Regulacõns for Settlement being alſoe Informed that you have Suffered People to ſettle alone in Remote Places Contrary thereto Expoſeing themſelves to the fury of the Heathen which may Proue of ill Conſequence as hath been allready Experience to all in thoſe Partes, Expect a better obſervance and Comporte for the future, and that Swearеing Drinking and Prophaneſſe to much practiced & Suffered with you will be wholly Suppreſſed and that you haue Due

Regard to all former Orders and Regulacõns for Settlement &c by Mr Pattiſhall Shortly Intended your way I ſhall Send Commiſſion for another in the Place of Mr Joyſlyne Deceaſed who feere is much wanted, I am,

Your affectionate ffriend
A. B:

A Letter from Capt Brockholls to Juſtice Lawrence Dennis &c

[General Entries xxxiii. 56.]

New Yorke May 10th 1683:

Mr Lawrence Dennis.

Sir.

Yours of the ninth of Aprill Received by which am troubled to heare Such Looſeneſſe and Extravigancy att Pemmaquid and Remiſſeneſſe in the Officer or Commander there not to obſerve the former Orders and Regulacõns for Settlements being noe wayes altered but Continued & Confirmed All Care poſſible hath been and is taken of that parte of the Governmt by Giving Good and neces-

ſary Orders which You the magiſtrates and Officers muſt ſee Executed and Obſerved accordingly and Suffer none to Vylate haveing perticuler Regard to the puniſhment & Suppreſſing thoſe Debaucheryes you mencõn, about w.ch Shall Allwayes write to Pemmaquid and that none ſettle in Remote partes alone but in Townſhips according to former Orders and Regulacõns ſhall Likewiſe Commiſſionate another in the Place of Mr Joſlyne Deceſed and hope all paſte Errors will bee Rectified by your future Good Comporte the news of which will be moſt acceptable to,

Sr

Your Affectionate ffriend,

A: B:

A Commiſſion to Mr John Allen of Shepsgutt to be Juſtice of the Peace for Pemmaquid and Dependencyes.

[General Entries xxxiii. 57.]

Anthony Brockholls Eſqr. Commander in Cheife and the Councell of the Province of New Yorke &c.

To Mr John Allen of Sheepgutt Greeting.

By Virtue of the Power and authority Derived unto us under his Royll Highs wee Doe hereby in his Ma.ties name Conſtitute Authorize and Appointe you Mr John Allen to be Juſtice of the Peace for Pemmaquid and Dependencyes Giveing you full Power and Authority to act as a Juſtice of the Peace according to Law and former Practice and all perſons whom it may Concerne are Strictly Charged & Required to give you Due Reſpect and Obedience accordingly. This Commiſſion to be of fforce for the Space of one whole yeare or till further Order. Given under my hand and Seale in New Yorke the 12th Day of May 1683 in the thirty fifth yeare of his Ma.ties Reigne &c.

A: B:

Petition from the Inhabitants of Pamaquid.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxi.]

(Endorſed: — "A Peticõn of the Inhabitants of Pemaquid. Sept 6.th Defered untill the Governr go to Pemaquid; or ſend ſome body thither, only in the mean time the former orders are to be obſerved.") [1683.]

To the Right Honorable Coll Thomas Dongan Gouernor Generall of all his Royall High.s Territories in America and Vice Admirall of the Seas &c and Councell.

The Humble Peticõn of the poor Inhabitants of the toune of Pemaquyd &c. Humbly Sheweth.

That when the moſt part of the inhabitants of this place did come from New York at the ſubdueing of this Countrie here to Serue his Royall Highs; Therefor and for Seuerall other good reaſons (and Secureatie of the People) moueing your honor predeceſſor Sr. Edmund Andros, and Confirmed by Capt Brockholls; did giue grant and Confirme

to this Toune of Pemaquid the whole trade of the Indians; directly and indirectly forbidding all other Persons to trade with the Indians within this Collony Except at Pemaquid vnder very great Penalties as the Records here make appear. And Likewayes your hono^{r} was pleased in your Articles sent by Cap^{t} Sharp to Order us here to build Last Spring one Blockhous at Merrimeting; which according to Order is there Ready to be raised; as will appear by some of your Peticóners who can informe ffurther; and for secureing Last Spring of his Royall High^{s} Reuenue wee sent up one vessell about tuenty ffour tunns well manned to trade haueing entered and paid Duties which does amount to more then all the Rest of this Country; except Pemaquid towne as your Collectors books will make appeare. But since your poor peticóners Vnderstands that Cap^{t} Sharp hath Receiued a Leter from your Hono^{r} to forbear setting up of the house vntill your Hono^{r} further advice otherwayes it could haue bin ffinished.

Therfore your humble poor peticóners doth humbly beg and Desire your hono^{r}

that our former Liberties granted to us Concerning tradeing with the Indians may be confirmed and ſtrict Charge giuen that noe other Perſon nor Inhabitant Shall trade Except they doe come and build here which will be a ſtrenghening to the garriſon of this place and for promoting his Royall High^ss Intereſt to Order that wee ſend up a Veſſell up Kenebeck riuer vntill your hono^r ſe caus to haue the blocke hous Raiſed being willing to pay Cuſtome & taxes according to orders which wee hope will be Conſiderable this fall in that Place other wayes it will be imbaſelled and wee diſabled from makeing our Liues Comfortable; Likewayes to grant your poor Peticõners an order how wee ſhall behaue towards the french in your Juriſdiction to the Eaſtw^d for the trade that way is Conſiderable and will promote your hono^rs intereſt. And your poor Peticõners ſhall euer Pray &c.

[The Signatures to the above have been cut off by ſome perſon unknown, probably for the autographs.]

Council Minutes v. 1*.

At ffort James in New Yorke September the 13th 1686. [1683.]

* * * *

Ordered that John Allen be made Sherriff of Pemaquid & Dependences, as Iſlands & whatever is thereto belonging, & he is to appoint the ffreeholders of Pemaquid & Dependences to meet & Choſe one Repreſentative

* * *

Commiſſion of Thomas Sharpe as Commander at Pemaquid

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

By the Governr

I Do hereby conſtitute and appoint you Enſigne Thomas Sharp to be Commander att Pemaquid and parts Eaſtward vnder the Govorment of his Royall Highneſs you are therefore to take Care that the militia in the Severall places be well armed duly exerciſed and kept in good order and diſcipline and the officers and

ſoldiers thereof are required to obey you as their Commander and yo^r ſelfe to obey ſuch orders and direccõns as you ſhall from time to time receive from me or other yo^r Superiour Officers according to the rules and discipline of warr and the truſt repoſed in You. Given under my Hand and Seale at ffort James the 10^th day of Nov^r 1683.

Commiſſion of Alexander Woodrop as Sub-Collector and Receiver.

By the Govern^r

I do hereby Conſtitute and appoint you M^r Alex^r Woodrop to be Sub Coll^r and Receiver of the publiq Revenue of the Cuſtomes & Excyſe due to his Royall Highneſſe in Pemaquid and its Dependencyes on all Comodityes Cuſtomable and all liquors according to an act of the Gen^rl Aſſembly publiſhed the 31^th day of Octo^r laſt of which you are to keep due account and make returnes of ſaid receipts in Specie from time to time to me or my order and all perſons concerned are re-

quired to conforme themſelves accordingly upon the penaltyes as in the ſaid act is ſpecifyed this my Comiçon to laſt only Dureing my pleaſure Given under my hand and ſeale in New Yorke the 28th day of November 1683.

Inſtructions for the Settlement of Pemaquid.

[Council Minutes v. 23.]

At a Council held at ffort James in New York November ye 22d 1683.

Prſent the Governor
Capt A Brockholls
Mr Ffr Fflypſie
I Spragge Mr Steph V Cortland
Mr Lucas Santer

The following Inſtructions & Orders were Conſidered.

Inſtructions for ye Settlement of Pemaquid

That no coaſting Veſſell ſhall trade on the Coaſt as Bumboats tradeing from Harbor to Harbor, but as ſhall Supply the Generall account for one boate or more, neither ſhall it be lawfull for him

to trade in any Other Harbor, but where the boat or boats are, neither ſhall it be lawfull for him to trade with any other crew for liquors or wine Rumm, Beer Sider &c on ſuch penalty as you think fitting.

An Ordinary is to be Sett up at every Iſland or ffiſhing place by an approved man of that place

It ſhall not be Lawfull for the Ordinary keeper to ſuffer any boates crew or any men belonging to any boates Crew to ſitt & tipple to exceſſiue drinking, or unſeaſonable houres to hinder the ſaid boates Crew upon ſuch penalty as by you ſhall be thought fitte

It ſhall not be lawfull for any maſters of veſſells to ſell or diſpoſe of to any Crew beſides their own any liquor of what kind ſoever on penalty or forfeiture to make good to the Veſſels Crew the ſame

It ſhall not be lawfull that after any Crew be Ship'd & agreed to proceed on their Voyage & haue been to ſea together to make a faire that if at any time by any of the Crews obſtinacy or Idleness or any other means (ſickneſſe only excepted) that the Crew be ſo hindered of

makeing her faire the penalty & forfeiture for each faire be conſidered & ſo proportionable for a longer time that the Said party ſhall abſent himſelf to the Hinderance of the Veſſell going to ſea.

It ſhall not be Lawfull for any Veſſells Crew that belongeth not to the Government to make a Voyage in the Goverment, except he hath an houſe & ſtaye within the Goverment on penalty of forfeiture of paying for makeing his voyage

It ſhall not be lawfull for any Veſſell or Veſſells that do not belong to this Goverm^{t} to make an herring Voyage at Mount Niles (?) or any other place within this Government upon penalty thought fitt by you

It ſhall not be lawfull for fiſhermen to keep any more dogges then one to a family on ſuch penalty & forfeiture as ſhall be thought fitt by you

It Shall not be lawfull for the ffiſhermen at Socatahock after the proclamation of this order to build any more howſes on that part of the Iſland that the Stages are of, but what they ſhall be on that part to the Southward where they haue begun

to build & what howſes are on the Iſland where the ſtages are of muſt be Removed within the ſpace of 2 years likewiſe all ſalt houſes or Warehowſes that Stand in the way of the flakes to be removed to a Convenient place on penalty as you think fitt

That all fiſhermen & planters ſhall be forced to haue Arms & Ammunition

That all perſons whatever ſhall be forbidd to trade wth the Indians Saue only two howſes one at Merrymeeting & the other at Pemaquid

That all Veſſells out of any Goverment if they com to trade or fiſh ſhall firſt enter at Pemaquid or the places appointed & that they ſhall not goe into any other Harbour except by ſtreſſ of Weather but firſt to Cleare & giue an Account of their deſign & not to break bulk before they haue ſo Cleared & then proceed to trade or fiſh as licenſe or permitt may be granted on penalty

That no Veſſell or boates Crew ſhall break bulk or diſpoſe of any fiſh till the firſt of June on penalty

That the fiſhermen may haue an aſſurance of theſe plantations about Socadahock & an Incouragement therunto that the planters in Sheepſgut River & Denorall Cote & the planters in Kenebeck & New Town in particular encouraged being fit for the ffiſhermen as well as planters

That no one who takes fourſcore Acres of Land Shall haue of the ſaid Acres aboue eight Acres fronting to the Sea River or Creek & ſo proportionably for any who takes more or leſſe Ground

That no Stragling farmes ſhall be erected nor no houſes built any where under the number of twenty

The Officer who is Comander of Pemaquid ſhall by the advice of the Cõmrs or any two of them Seaze any Veſſell that offends contrary to the aforeſaid inſtructions & ſuch Orders as ſhall be made by you or any three of you for the well eſtabliſhing that Colony, provided allways that nothing herein ſhall be don by you repugnant & contrary to the laws of this Country, & the laws of England

And for the promoteing of piety it is requiſite that a perſon be appointed by

the Comiſſioners to read prayers & the holy Scriptures

Ordered that no Veſſell or boate or Cannoe whatſoever ſhall trade nor go into any Harbo[r] or River between the Rivers Kenebeck & St Croix but what ſhall enter & Clear firſt at Pemaquid, except they are forced by ſtreſs of weather, upon forfiture of both Veſſell, & goods, & that no one whatſoever as he will anſwer it at his perill ſhall take a permitt or lycenſe to trade there from John Nellſon at Boston or any other perſon whatfoever, except ſuch as are appointed & Commiſſionated by the Governor of New York

And for the further encouragement for people to go & Settle on the Dukes territories between the Kenebeck & St Croix they ſhall haue lands for themſelves & their heires without paying any Quitt-rents except a ſmall acknowledgment of one ſhilling for an Hundred Acres p[r] Ann, & that they ſhall not be lyable to be arreſted for any debts for the ſpace of ſeven Years excepting ſuch debts as they ſhall contract by occaſion of their going thither, or whilſt they inhabit on that place.

No fiſhing boats whatſoever ſhall throw over board any Garbage or Gutts or any other thing that tends to the damage of the fiſhery banks on forfeiture of their boats or Veſſells

And all Veſſells or fiſhing boates not belonging to Pemaquid or the Goverment of his Royall Highs are to pay as followeth

A decked Veſſell four Kentalls Merchantable fiſh & an open boate two Kentalls.

Petition from the Inhabitants of Pemaquid.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxii.]

To the Honredc Coll Thomas Dongan Left. Gouernr & Viſe Admirall vnder his Ryell Highnes of New Yorke Dependenſes in America and to his Honerbl Counſell now Sitting att New Yorke

The humble Petion of the inhabytance of the Extreme partes of his Riall Hineſs Teritory Betwene the Riuer Kenybeke and Stt Croix

Humbly Sheweth

Ware as yor Petinors Came to vnderſtand by Seuerall Commition and in ſtrucktion

ffor the Settillment of the affore ſaid partes that yo^{r} Hon^{r} Hath intended Good ffor theſe partes and all ways will wee Beliue Confferme the ſame which Giues vs Greate boulldnes to ſeeck yo^{r} Hon^{r}s protecktion and Reedres ffrom many burthen, and oppretions that are Layed vpone vs by the wonte of Lawes being Lefte to the will and pleſuer of the Millitary order by which menes the Gouerment bee Coms to vs allto Gether Arbytary which ſoe to bee is Repugnant to the Laues of England and his Maj^{efty} Regall athority as allſo a great Reflecktion one yo^{r} Honer^{s} athority Being ffully aſhored of our Deliuerc^{e} ffrom the ſame By yo^{r} Hone.^{r} Affter ſeurill yeares ſuffring By ouer Great Diſtant ffrom New Yorke whare wee are all wayes to have oure Releefe in ſuch and the Licke Caſes =

P^{r}mis the Boody of Lawes of New Yorke and the adjaſent partes of his Ryall Hines territory hath not theſe partes in it Thare ffore humbly Requeſt that wee may bee A mimber of that Boody --

2^{ly} —Thare has ben but one . . . . . appointed ffor theſe partes which all

Caſes Com beffore and if Injuſtis Don any man vnder correcation bee it ſpoocken to the Loos of his Eſtate or Dammige to his parſon this Law Appointes noe Appeall ffor vs which priueliges is a Lowed of By y^{or} Hon^{r} and Counſell at New Yorke and thare ffore hope yo^{r} Hon^{er} will prouide ſom way ffor ouer Releefe

3^{ly} It hath Binne the pracktis of the Commander of Pemaquid to apprehend by ffforſe of armes the kings Juſtis of the peaſe and thretten other Juſtis of the Peaſe with Putting in Irons and keping in the ffort a priſnor ſeuerall dayes with other Grand abuſſes and Villifiing Lang^{e} and ffor noe Reſon only ffollowing thare Commition Granted to the Said Juſtis^{e} of the peaſe as allſo thretnige the Deſolfing of Coarts att pleſſuer By which meanes the Kings Juſtiſes and Subjects haue bine turned bee ſides thare Buſnis: Humbly Beging Yo^{r} Hon^{rs} Releefe in the ſame

4:thly: Whare as you Honer haue Sent formly Artickles in tittled Inſtruction ffor the ſettillment of Pemaquid which ſignyfies to yo^{r} petitioneor that yo^{r} Hon^{rs} haue thoughts of Good ffor the Inhabitance

of theſe partes if a Right vnderſtanding whare as the ffurſte Inſtrucktion Declarith that noe veſſeill ſhall trad one the Coſte as bumboates ffrom Harbber to Harber but ſuch as ſhall ſupplye the Gine^r^orall account ffor one Boate or more nether ſhall it bee Lawfull to trad in any other harber which or Inſtrucktion is much to the dammig of the in habbytance and a great Diſcorigement of others that wold Come to inhabbitte ffor anſwer to the affore ſaid Inſtruction the perſons that haue ſupplied the ffiſhery haue allways ſate ſuch Grate priſes one thare Goods that it hath ffor many Years Impoveriſhed yo^r^ poore petittiones butt of Late hath by the Reſons of Supplyes att a Cheaper Rate and not Conſarned with the Supply of boates made vs to make a more comffortable Liuing then heare to fore

Likewayes wee tacke bouldnes to accquainte yo^r^ Hono^rs^ with a Conſidderable quantidy of planters Settled and are a Coming to Settill in his Riall highnes teritory in the Eſterne partes if in corrigment ffrom Yo^r^ honer which wee Diſſpare not of Deſirring yo^r^ honer to take it into

yo[r] pieous Conſideration how theſe affore ſaid planters ſhall bee ſupplyed Being abſolutly Commanded that the ſupplyes ſhall Diſpoſe of noe goods but in the harbers whare ffiſhery is and to now other but the boats crue which affore ſaid in ſtrucktion wee humbly Conſeue were Given in to yo[r] Honer by him that had to much ſellfe in it and wee ffeare a Combination w[th] other ſuppliers to the Impouriſhing of Your poore petiſiners as heare to ffore which in fringment of trade hath neuer Ben as wee humbly Conſeue to his Majeſty ſubiack humbly Deſiring Yo[r] honer to Reliue vs in the ſame---

5.[th]Ly Whare as the ninth Inſtrucktion that the ffiſher men of Sacady-hocke ILand ſhall not Builde any more howeſes one that parte of the Iland whare the Stages bee but ſhall Remoue all thare Houſes within the Spaſe of three yeares which will bee the Runing of the proprieters of y[e] ſame but wee humbly Conſeue and ſartingly knowe that his Majeſty by act of parlyment haue mad proclaymation that all Ilands and plaſes conuenient ffor ffiſhery all tho any perſon or perſons propriety ſhall Bee

Improued ffor that End; as allſo Sr Edmond Androus Confferming of the ſame: wee ffeare yor Honers in ffermation haue ben ffrom a perſon fformerly Claiming a Right thare vnto all tho pretended which parſon cane bee noe other parſon then Mr Richard Pattiſhall which wee haue Grounds to ffeare Doth not Deſighne Good to this partes wee Humbly Requeſt yor honner to Reliue yor poore petyſenors in this matter.

6thLy. Ware as in the thirtenth artickell that all veſſels ſhall enter at Pemaquid and att noe other place which wee humbly Conſeiue will bee Very Detrimentall to a Conſiderabell quantity of ffiſher men and planters by Reſon of the Great Distanc of Pemaquid and the Depenes and Difficulty of the bay of Pemaquid has Detained ſeuerall veſſills many Days ſom times Weeckes which has expoſed the ffiſhery and planters to Great Wontes as allſo a Great Dammige to thare Imploye. ouer Humble Requeſt to Yr Honer is that you wold grante vs two plaſes more of Entrys and Clering the one at Nu Darthmouth in Ships Gutt riuer whare ar

Conſidderable inhabbitance and meny more Coming and promſing a Conſiderable trad of ſhiping ffor maste and Lumber and all ſoe an office or ſom parſon at Sacadyhocke in Kenybec Riuer appointed ffor Entring and Clearing

7 :th Ly Ware as the Eightenth inſtrucktion Doth Requier noe ſettillment in thoſe partes under the number of Twenty ffamelyes which wee accknolige a very great prudence of Yor Honner wee humbly Conſeue if yor Honer Doth but parfer tenn ffamelyes it may much more Con Duſe to the Settelling of thoſe partes ffor tenn ffamelyes can be ffound to Settill at the ffurſte a towne ſhip when twenty Cannot be procured but when tenn ſettled ſom ſmall towne it hath all times by Expperience incurriged more to Come wee humbly Requeſt your honner to Grante the Same

8thly Wee ffarther take Boulldnes to acquainte yor honner of a uery Conſiderable Charge that the towne of Nu Darthmouth is Ships Gutt Riuer and Sacadyhocke in Kenybeck Riuer in Erickting of a fforte at Each place ffor Security

of the in habbitance againſt the Hethin by Reſon of thretting Languge proſeding ffrom them and to bee found conſull-tation ffor ware, as allſoe thay Declaring that iff thay did not Cutt of the Engliſh now thay came to inhabitt beffore that thay wold bee to manny ffor them and to ſtrong wee humbly Requeſte yo^{r} honer to prouide ſome better ſecurity ffor affter time.

all thoſe ffoementioned artickells wee ar ffully parſuaded yo^{r} honner has a better vnderſtanding of then wee ar Capable to infforme; not Douting as yo^{r} honner has allready Deſighend Good ffor theſe partes will Grant vnto yo^{r} pore petiſtnors all the affore ſaid artickells wee ſhall Euer pray

JNO ALLYEN	ELIHU GUNNISON
LARRY DENNY	CHRISTOPHER RYER
JUSTES ————	THOMAS GENT
NIC^{H}: MANNING	WILLIAM LOWERING
THOMAS GYLES	ROBERT COOK
PHI= PARSON	FFRANCIS JOHNSONN
	AFFTE NELE
	THO SERGANT
	GOURY GRAY
	JOHN LANGE
	ELIUS TRUCKE
	JOHN SELLMAN

Richd Pateſhall Informeth Againſt Mr John Kelſon Mcht in Boſton.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxi.]

Saieth: yt ſome time in Deſemb:r Laſt paſt being 1683 I Ariued in Boſton & met ther with Capt Sharpe that was my pasenger to Rod: Iſland. I Aſked him whethr he was with: ye Gor Bradſtret a bout ye procleme to Aſke Leue ffor ye ſeting, of it, to yt he Anſwered noe and deſired me to goe with him, the which I did the Gouer Anſwer was ther ſhould be caer taken About it After he had met in Counſell:

I alſoe Aſked Capt Sharpe whether he had deliuered the Letter to Mr Nol . . . he ſaid noe, but would doe it After ye procla was vpp, when I vnderſtod Mr Kelſon, had his Letter I went to his houſe, to diſcorſe him Conferneing ye Eſterne prts, wher I Aquainted him of ye Honr Gouer Dongans Reſolues to poſes him ſelfe, with his Riall Hines his Rite to St: Croys by Letters pattens Granted from his maieſt: and he had ſent Letters Accordeing to Coſten, to Come in and pay his

Reſpect to Pemequide his Anſwer was Gou^{r} Dongan, was miſtaken in Coſten, for he was Comiſinated from y^{e} King of Ffranſe, and Likewiſe from y^{e} Gover^{r} of Canadey to Kepp y^{e} Rite and poſeſion of thoſe p^{r}ts and that y^{e} ſaid Coſten was a Baron, and did Skorne to Come to Capt Sharpe being a men perſon, and of noe p^{r}ts and could not Diſcorſe ſutch a Gentell,^{m} as Coſten, further more that y^{e} Said Coſten would Loſe, his Life Rather, and that it would be an Ill dayes workes for Gou^{r} Dongan to vſe Au:^{t} of Hoſtille^{y} towards, him, for if he did y^{e} Engliſh in theſe p^{r}ts would ſone be Cut of, and y^{e} plaſes Left in Aſhes. I Tould him that could not be for y^{e} Ffrentch were but ffue, he Anſwered that theſe and all y^{e} Indeans were Ingaged to him in theſe p^{r}ts I Anſwered that all y^{e} Indeans from Pemiquid weſtwards waer obedient to Goue^{r} Dongan, which waer two to one for y^{e} Eſtwards. He Anſwered he knew, to y^{e} Contrary I An^{ſd} that then Go:^{r} Dongan had y^{e} Mohocks, and Senicaes conſiſting of at Leſt 3 M:^{l} men to Send vppon theſe

^{l} Three thouſand.

Indeans in ther one ould quarell when he plefed

His Anfwer was he beleued y^e^ Gou^r^: was miftaken in that two, for he was fhuer y^e^ Ffrench Gouo^r^: kept Jefuits: in y^e^ Mohockes Caftells and further moer y^e^ ffrench Go:^r^ had Lately fent for y^e^ Mohokes vppon fome mifdemer and Xecuted Eyght or Nine that y^e^ Mohokes Brought in them felues Alfoe that y^e^ Kenebecke Indeans were Stout ffellows and ffeared not y^e^ Mohocks

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Council Minutes Indian Affairs.

[Council Minutes v. 66.]

At a Council held at ffort James April 11th 1684.

* * * *

Governor Dongan faid he was againft giueing any provocation to the Indians, & would ufe all the faire ways to preferue peace

Governo^r^ Cranfield faid that thofe the province of Mayne had draun themfelues into Garrifons

Mr Dudlay replyed it was don by any order from Boſton

Governor Cranfield ſaid there much difference between unneceſſary feare, & many repeated threats & menaces from the Indians & their drawing away yeir wifes

Governor Dongan ſaid that if his officers at Pemaquid did any thing againſt the Indians, beyond his inſtructions, they ſhould ſuffer for it, & that he would not make any preparations to alarum the Indians.

Governor Cranfield propoſed that an allouance ſhould be made wth the Maques to aſſiſt them of Boſton, & the province of Mayne & other Colonies

Gov Dongan anſwered that if any aſſurance came from Boſton & the province of Mayne that the Indians did make warre he would uſe his utmoſt to get the Maquaſe

Governor Cranfield deſired that one might be appointed from N. York Boſton, the province of Mayne & other Colonies to treat about it, to adiuſt the expences wch would be due to the Maques

Governo^{r} Dongan ſaid he was againſt any thing y^{t} might ſhow the leaſt ſuſpition of the Indians, & give them iealouſie

Agreed upon by Cranfield Governo^{r} of the province of Hampſhire, M^{r} Joſeph Dudley & Mr Shrimpton & Governo^{r} Dongan wth the Council that if upon the arrivall of Mr Cranfield into the province of Hampſhire, M^{r} Dudley & M^{r} Shrimpton at Boſton they heare of any Acts of Hoſtility comitted by the Indians they forthwith giue notice the Governo^{r} of New York who will ſend ſom on purpoſe to them to Conſult what is fitt to be don in it, & to adiuſt the payments that ſhall be due to the Maquaſe for their aſſiſtance in caſe they are employed & further to adviſe & Conſider whatſoever ſhall be neceſſary for the preſervation of his Ma^{ties} Subjects.

Extract of a letter from Gov Dongan to the Council of the Province of Hampſhire

[Council Minutes v. 68.]

Apr 11. 1684.

* * *

We giue you many thanks for ye kindneſs towards this Governm^{t}, tho we haue

no reaſon on o^{r} parts to apprehend a warre wth the Indians; with whom we haue but lately renewed a friendſhip, & haue letters from Pemaquid which mention nothing of any likelyhood of a warre amongſt them, the copy of w^{ch} & ſome other papers are in the hands of y^{e} Governo.^{r}

[Council Minutes v. 72.]

At a Council Apr 21^{ſt} 1684

P^{r}ſent the Governo^{r}
M^{r} ffr fflypſie Mr S. V. Cortlandt
M^{r} L Santer J Spragge

A petition from New Dartmouth for a patent referred untill the Governo^{r} go to Pemaquid

A petition fro^{m} M^{r} Alleyn for y^{e} ſame referred untill the Governo^{r} go to Pemaquid & both given back to M^{r} Giles Goddard.

Petition of Inhabitants of New Dartmouth

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

The Humble Petition of y^e^ Inhabitants of y^e^ Towne of New Dartmouth Belonging to his Roy:^ll^ H: James Duke of Yorke, in y^e^ Eaſterne Parts of y^e^ County of Cornhill in America, and to y^e^ Right Hornourable Corn^ll^: Dongan Gov^r^ & Vice Admirall Vnder his Roy^ll^ High: of New Yorke and its dependences In America w^th^: y^e^ Reſt of the Honourable Aſſembly Sitting in Councell at y^e^ City of New Yorke. in October Next, &c.

Humbly Sheweth;

That Whereas you^r^ Honours Humble Pettition^rs^: Obtained a Graunt of a Tract of Land to ſettle it as a Townehip about two years Paſt, from the Worſhippfull Henry Joſſlyn Eſq,^r^ Juſtice in Quo: Deceaſed and by virtue of an Order Derived to him from S^r^: Edmond Androſs, Then Gov^r^: haue Graunted the afforeſ^d^ Inhabitantes To be bounded as ffoll. Viz^t^: On y^e^ South to y^e^ Sea, On y^e^ North to y^e^ Country, On y^e^ Eaſt w^th^: y^e^: River,

knoune by y^e^ Name of Damaras Cotte, as alſo w^th^: y^e^: ffreſh Pond, at y^e^: head of Said River, and ſo into y^e^ Country, and on y^e^ Weſt bounding Vpon y^e^ Great Iſland of Saccadahoc, and ſo through Bateſmans Gutt, Into y^e^: Sea South & by Weſt, and alſo Vpward from Batemans Gutt, Into y^e^ Country to y^e^ Great falles, and from thence to great Monſiocage ffalles, and from thence a north and by Weſt Lyne into y^e^: Country as p^r^ Platt will appeare, As alſo y^e^: Orridginall Graunt from y^e^: above ſaid Joſlyn Eſq^r^: Whereas yo^r^: Pettition^rs^ Come to vnder-ſtand from yo^r^: Hono^rs^: hand That all y^e^: Inhabitants ſhall haue their Title of Land Confirmed vnto them in Townſhipps, Wee have hearetofore p^r^ſented yo^r^: Hono^r^: w^th^: a Platt of y^e^ aforeſ^d^: Toune Bounds as alſo from Vnder y^e^ Surveyo^rs^: hands, Their Sirveying & Laying out of ſ^d^: Townſhipp according as y^e^ Law p^r^vides Wee Humbly beſeiching yo^r^: Honour to Graunt & Confirme vnto y^e^: now Inhabitants of ſaid Towne all y^e^ Lands w^th^: Rivers & Riviletts, Iſlands, & Iletts, Harbours, & Bayes, w^th^: in y^e^: afforeſ^d^:

Bounds Vnto yo,r Humble Pettitionrs: & heires, according to ye Charter of Eaſt Grinoidge, Only Excepting 1ſt, a hundred accres if Demanded pr anum Vnto his Royll: Highneſſe pr acknowledgment: wch: if Graunted & Confirmed by yor Honor: & Councell, will much Encourage not Onely ye Inhabitants yt are now heare, but others yt: are Comeing if our Lands weare Confirmed Vnto vs, Severall of our Inhabitants are Drawne of already, and others Intend Except they Can haue a ſpedy Confirmation of their Lands made to them

Therefore wee Deſire That yor Honour would be pleaſed to take it into yor ſerious Conſideracõn That a Pattent may be Graunted Vnto vs for our Townſhipp. That wee yt: are heare & others yt: would Come & ſettle amongſt vs may be Encouraged.

Wee doe allſo further prſume & make bould to acquaint yor Honour yt wee are Diſturbed by People yt Come heare to Clame Lands by form: & prtended writes; Capt: Eliſha Hutchinſon of Boſton

hath been in theſe Parts, & gives out ſeveare Threttennings y^t^ he will Come & take away our Land wheron our Towne ſtands & ſeverall others Doe Thretten Likewiſe & ſay That they haue more wright to Shew Then wee have to our Lands, Therefore wee deſire y^t^: yo^r^: Hono^r^: will Conſider Vs That Wee may haue aſſureance, of our Lands, and y^t^: no ſuch p^r^tenders or old Morgages y^t^ were made before the warrs w^th^ y^e^ heathens may be p^r^ceeded ag^t^: us: if they ſhould it would Damnifie & vtterly breake vp our Towne: Cap^t^: Hutchiſon ſaith y^t^: he muſt have Vs become his Tennants or otherwiſe wee ſhall not Live heare.

And allſo when our Repreſentive M^r^ Gyles, Godward went Laſt; M^r^ John Allen without y^e^ knowledge of M^r^ Godward or vs ſent Privetly a Pettition vnto yo^r^ Hono^r^; it being ffalſe as will appeare wee never knew any thing of it vntill M^r^ Godwards Returne M^r^ Allen haveing given vp all his former wright & title which he p^r^tends he had to the neck of Land y^e^ Towne Stands vpon and Elſe

wheare, vnder hand & ſeale to vs and willingly tooke a Lott Equall to y^e^ Reſt, as he pretended to Encourage vs to ſettle y^e^: Place, as will more fully appeare by y^e^ articles.

Wee Preſume ffurther to aquaint yo^r^: Hono^r^: That wee have heare amongſt vs one Cap^t^ Nicholas Manning Cap^t^: of a Company That is very Troubleſome, and Doth much Obraide & Diſturbe vs in our buiſeneſſe, Townes Men & Overſeers That are Legually Choſſen by y^e^ Towne he Doth Diſturbe at Publique Meetings, about their Toune affaires, he allſo braggs That his power is better than our's, and ſayth he will ſettle whom he will and where he pleaſe, w^ch^ makes Partyes & Diviſions amongſt vs, To our great Trouble, w^ch^: if not p^r^vented, wee feare will growe worſe, wee Deſireing y^t^: yo^r^: Honour will take all matters into Conſideracõn for to graunt vnto vs yo^r^ Poore & humble Pettitiones a Confirmacõn of our Lands That wee doe now Enjoy, and alſo y^t^ yo^r^ Honour would be pleaſed for to ſett or nominate y^e^ Name of our Toune ac-

cording to yo[r] Pleaſure, and what Elſe yo[ur]: Honour ſhall ſee fitting and wee ſhall Euer Pray &c:

ROBERT R FOOT (?)
THOMAS GENT
WILLIAM LOVERING his Mark
CALEB RAY — — —
THOMAS GYLES Juſtice of peace
ELIHU GUNNISON Juſtice of peace
RICHARD PAIN Maſt maker and Purſar for his Mageſtys vſe in England
JAMES COOKE Mariner

[April 21. 1684.]

Commiſſion of Nicholas Manning as Captain of a Foot Company.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

By the Governor.

Whereas, out of the good opinion I conceiue of You I haue thought fitt to Conſtitute, and appoint you, Cap[t] Nicholas Manning to be Cap[t]. of a foott Company of the militia for the County of Cornwall Theſe are therfore to will and require you to take into your charge and comand the ſaid Company as Cap[t]. accordingly, and Duely to Exerciſe the ſaid officers, and ſouldiers thereof in armes and to your beſt Care and Endeavour, to

keepe them in good order and Diſcipline, hereby Willing and Requiring them to obey you in all things as their Capt. and you Likewiſe to obſerue and follow, ſuch orders and directions as you ſhall from time to time Receiue from mee, and for the Doeing this ſhall be your Warrant, this to Continue During my Will and Pleaſure only; Given under my hand and ſeale att Fortt James the 28th day of Aprill 1684.

Paſſed the Office. THO: DONGAN.
JOHN SPRAGG Sec'y

Commiſſion of Gyles Godard as Lieutenant of a Militia Company

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

Thomas Dongan Lievt Governor &c

Whereas out of the good opinion I conceiue of you Gyles Godard I haue thought fitt to Conſtitute and appointe you to bee Leiut. of a foot Company of the militia for the County of Cornwall, You are therfore Carefully to Performe the Duty of a Leiut in all things and to

Obſerue ſuch orders as you ſhall from time to time Receiue from your ſaid Capt or other your ſuperior Officers and all Inferior officers and Souldiers of the ſaid Company are to obey you as their Leiut according to the Diſcipline of Warre this Commiſſion to Continue During my Will and Pleaſure only; Given under my hand and Seale the 28: Day of Aprill 1684.

Paſſed the Office THO: DONGAN
J: SPRAGG Secr.

A Commiſſion to Caleb Raye for Enſigne after the ſame forme *Mutatis Mutandis*.

Commiſſion of Juſtices of the Peace.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

By the Governor.

By Virtue of the authority derived unto mee from his Royall Highs: I doe hereby Conſtitute authorize and appointe you John Allyen, John Dolling, Lawrence Denni, Thomas Giles, Alexander Woldrop, Thomas Sharp, Richard Pattiſhall Eſquires to bee Juſtices of the Peace for the County of Cornwall and Commiſſioners for the

fettling his Royall Highneſſes Territoryes betweene the Riuer Kenebeck and St. Croix Giveing You full Power and authority to act as Juſtices of the Peace, for the Good and Wellfaire of the Government and due adminiſtration of Juſtice, and to Conſult and make Rules and orders, for the Weale and benefitt of his Royall Highneſſe Territories betweene the River Kinebeck and S^{t} Croix and to Call to queſtion and puniſh all offenders according to Law, and all Perrſons whom it May Concerne are ſtrictly Charged and Required to give you due Reſpect and obedience accordingly; this Commiſſion is to be of force dureing my Will and Pleaſure, only Given under my hand and ſeale att Fort James this 28: Day of Aprill 1684

Paſſed the Office THO: DONGAN.

J. SPRAGGE Secr

[Council Minutes v. P. 91.]

At a Council held at ffort James
July the 9th 1684.

* * *

The petition of the Inhabitants of Pemaquid referred untill the Governor go thither & in the Mean time the former orders to be obſerved.

Orders concerning Block Houſe and the payment of Quit Rents.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

By the Governor

Ordered that the Block houſe of Merry Meeting bee Imediately Raiſed by the Town of Pemaquid and there to Trade and Traffique Paying Cuſtomes according to the act of aſſembly and the ſaid block houſe to be Raiſed at theire Owne Charge and Likewiſe Enſigne Sharpe is to ſend up to the ſaid blockhouſe one file of men to be Comanded by John Rowden.

And that all veſſells are hereby required to Enter and Cleare att Pemaquid.

Paſſed the Office THO: DONGAN
J SPRAGGE Secr.

Fortt James the 8th day of September 1684.

By the Governor.

Whereas there are Severall Quitt Rents ſtanding out and in arrears to his Royall Highss at Pemaquid Due and Payable ſince the agreement made by the late Governor Sr Edmond Androſs Knight &c Theſe are therefore in his Royall Highss name to authorize Empower and appointe you Allexander Wardrop to aſke demand and Receive all ſuch quitt Rents as are due and Payable to his Royall Highss in the County of Cornwall and to give Receipts for the ſame, for which this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. Guen under my hand at Fortt James the 12th day of September 1684.

THO: DONGAN.

You are to Receive all the aforſaid quitt Rents vntill the 26th of Auguſt 1684.

* * *

Commiſſion granted to John Buttery to be Cap^{t} of Foott belonging to New Towne and Sackadahock Date the 22^{d} day of Octobe̅r 1684.

Commiſſion Granted to Gyles Godard Eſq^{r} to be Cap^{t} of a Foott Company belonging to the Towne of New Dartmouth in the County of Cornwall Date the 22^{d} of Octo 1684.

Commiſſion of Gyles Godard as Surveyor.

Thomas Dongan Lieu^{t} and Governor &c

Whereas by the Severall Petticõns of the Inhabitants of Pemaquid it appears to be Convenient and neceſſary to have a Surveyor in the County of Cornwall I have therefore thought fitt to Conſtitute and appointe Giles Godard Eſq^{r} to be Surveyor of the ſaid County and to Lay out any Tract or Parcell of Land not Exceeding the quantity of one hundred acres for Each Perſon and alſoe to ſurvey all Toune Shippe not already Surveyed not any wayes Prejudiciall to any Perſons

Right or Intereſt and to make a Returne thereof to me for which this ſhall be your Warrant. Given under my hand and ſeale att Fortt James in New Yorke the 22[d] day of October 1684.

Paſſed the Office, THO: DONGAN
J. SPRAGGE Sec[r].

[Council Minutes v. P. 157.]

At a Council June the tenth 1686.

* * *

The Governo[r] propoſed that there being ſom Confuſion amongſt the Inhabitants of Pemaquid, it would be Convenient to ſend Cap[t]. J. Palmer thither to agree w[th] them for takeing out their patents, & paying of Quitt rents & ordered that Inſtructions ſhould be given to him.

* * *

Licences for the taking up of Land.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

By the Governor

Whereas John Spragge of this Citty of New Yorke hath deſired my Liberty and Lycence to take up and Enjoye a

Certaine Iſland Called and Knowne by the name of Summerſett Iſland and the ſmall Iſland thereunto adjacent Scituate and Lyeing in Pemaquid in the County of Cornwall theſe may Certifie that the ſaid John Spragge hath hereby Liberty and Lycence granted to him to take up and enjoy the ſaid Iſlands in order for Confirmation by Pattent Provided the ſame be not appropriated or diſpoſed off to any others Given under my hand at Fortt James in New York:

THO: DONGAN

By the Governor.

Whereas James Graham of the citty of New Yorke Merchant hath deſired my Liberty and Lycence to Take up and Enjoye one thouſand acres of Land ſcituate Lyeing and being in Pemaquid in the County of Cornwall, Theſe may Certifie that the ſaid James Graham hath hereby Lyberty and Lycence granted to him to Take up one thouſand acres of Land provided that not aboue one hundred acres of the ſaid land be fronting to the ſea or water ſide alſo provided the

ſame be not appropriated or legally diſpoſed of to any others. Given under my hand at Fortt James in New Yorke the 19th day of June 1686

THO: DONGAN.

By the Governor.

Whereas Thomas Smyth Gent. hath deſired my Lyberty and Lycence to take up and Enjoye three hundred Acres of Land Scituate and Lyeing in Pemaquid Theſe may Certifie that the ſaid Thomas Smyth hath hereby Lyberty and Lycence to take up the ſaid three hundred acre of Land in Order for Confirmation by Pattent Provided the ſame be not appropriated or Legally Diſpoſed of to any others Given under my hand at Fortt James in New Yorke the 19th day of June 1686.

THO: DONGAN

By the Governor.

Whereas Thomas Cooper of the Citty of New Yorke Gent. hath deſired my Liberty and Lycence to take up and Enjoye three hundred acre of Land Scituate Lyeing and being in Pemaquid in the

County of Cornwall Theſe may Certifie that the ſaid Thomas Cooper hath hereby Liberty and Lycence to take up the ſaid three hundred acre Provided the ſame be not appropriated or Legally diſpoſed of to any others, Given under my hand att Fortt James in New-Yorke the 19th day of June 1686.

THO: DONGAN.

Authority of John Weſt to act as Deputy Secretary.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiv.]

Foraſmuch as it hath Pleaſed the Right Honble: Coll Tho Dongan his Majeſtyes Gouernor of New Yorke & to Commiſſionate and Empower Captt John Palmer of the Citty of New Yorke Eſqr by grant or Deed in writeing vnder his hand and ſeale of the Prouince to Give Grant Rattifie and Confirme to all and Euery the Perſons in Pemaquid now Settled and Inhabiting within that Partt of his Majeſtyes Prouince as ſhall be Deſirous to take up ſettle and appropriate Land there,

ſuch tract and tracts Parcell and Parcells and quantities of Land and Iſlands as in his Diſcretion he ſhall think moſt fitt and Conuenient I do hereby nominate and appoint and depute you John Weſt of the Citty of New Yorke Gen^t^ to doe and Execute all act and acts thing and things in Pemaquid in the County of Cornwall dureing the time that Cap^t^ John Palmer ſhall ſtay in the ſaid County to my office or Place of Secretary belonging or apperteining

Given under my hand and at Fortt James this 19^th^ day of June 1686.

J: Spragge Secr.

Commiſſion of Capt John Palmer

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiii.]

By the Governor in Councill.

Haveing Receiued information that there be Seuerall diſorders and Confuſions amongſt the Inhabitants of Pemaquid I haue therefore thought it conuenient to ſend you Cap^t^ John Palmer thither of whoſe great Prudence abilityes, and Integrities I am Very well aſſured.

And for the better Eſtabliſhing Settling and quietting of his Majeſtyes ſubjects in thoſe Parts, in their Eſtates and Poſſeſſions I doe hereby giue you full Power and authority to treate with the ſaid Inhabitants for Takeing out Pattents and Paying the quitt rents.

And to Preuent any dangers that may ariſe by being in a negligent, vnprovided Poſture you are to warne the aforeſaid Inhabitants to keep in Garriſon Continually one officer and ſix ſouldiers at Leaſt in time of greateſt Peace and quiett and twenty Souldiers at Leaſt if any warr ſhould ariſe & happen.

And for the more Regularly Proceeding in all affaires you are hereby alſoe Empowered to nominate and Chuſe diſcret and honeſt Perſons ſome of the moſt knowing and Capable Perſons to be Justices of the Peace and quorum.

And foraſmuch as very Little Reuenue hath accrued to his Majeſty from Pemaquid by the Dutyes of Exciſe and Customes you are therefore hereby Impowered to Sett and Lett to farme the aforeſaid Exciſe & Cuſtomes as advantagiouſly as

you Poſſibly can, for the augmenting of his Majeſtyes Reuenue.

And Laſtly you haue hereby full Power and authority not only to act in the aforeſaid Perticulers but in any other concerne or thing what ſhall be moſt meet and convenient for his Majeſtyes Intereſt.

Giuen under my hand and Seale at fortt James in New Yorke the 19th day of June 1686.

THO. DONGAN

Commiſſion of Juſtices of the Peace for Cornwall County.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiii.]

Cornwall SS.

James the Second by the Grace of God of England Scotland Ffrance & Ireland King Defendr of the faith Supream Lord of ye Plantacon & Collony of New York To our Truſty & Wellbeloved, Tho Sharpe, Richard Patiſhall, Tho. Giles, Nico. Manning Giles Goddard, Jno Dolling, Laurence Denny, Elihu Guniſon Eſqrs

Greeting. Know yee That wee haue aſſigned you & Euery of you Joyntly &

ſeverally our Juſtices to Keep our peace within our County of Cornwall in o^r^ Plantation & Collony of New York Aforeſ^d^ And to keep & Cauſe to be Kept all thoſe laws & ſtatutes made & Eſtabliſhed for y^e^ good of y^e^ peace & for y^e^ Conſeruacõn of the Same & for y^e^ quiet Rule & Gouermn^t^. of our people within o^r^ S^d^ County in all & Singular their Articles according to y^e^ force forme & Effect thereof, Ant to Correct & Puniſh all offenders ag^t^. the forme of y^e^ Laws & ſtatutes or either of them in y^e^ County aforeſ^d^ as according to y^e^ forme of y^e^ Laws or Statutes is or ought to be done. And to Cauſe to Come before yo^u^ or either of yo^u^. all thoſe who Doe threaten any of o^r^ People concerneing their bodies or of burning their houſes to find ſufficient ſuretyes for y^e^ Peace & their good behaviour towards us & our people & if they ſhall refuſe to find Security in this behalfe then to Cauſe them to be kept ſafety in our Priſons untill they ſhall find ſecurity in this behalfe.

Alſoe wee aſſigne yo^u^ & Euery three or more of yo^u^ whereof any one of yo^u^,

yo^{u} y^{e} aforeſd Tho: Sharpe, Richard Patiſhall Tho: Giles, & Nic^{o} Manning wee will to be one our Juſtices to Enquire by the Oaths of good & Lawfull men of y^{e} County aforeſ^{d} by whom y^{e} truth of the thing may be the better Knowne for all manner of Larceny Petty Larcenay Treſpaſſes & Extortions whatſoever & of all & ſingular other miſdeeds Crymes & Offences of the which y^{e} Juſtices of our peace may or aught Lawfully to Enquire by whomſoever & howſoever in y^{e} County aforeſ^{d} done or perpetrated or w^{ch} hereafter there ſhall happen to be done or Accompted where the puniſhment thereof by the Laws of the ſ^{d} Collony doth not Extend to taking away of Life limb or member. & alſoe of all thoſe who there doe lye in waite to wound or Kill our people or that hereafter ſhall ſoe preſume to lye in Waite And alſoe of all p^{r}ſons that ſhall & doe uſe & ſell by falſe weights or meaſures. And alſo of whatſoeuer Sherriffs Brayliffs Marſhalls Conſtables Goalers & other officers who in the Execution of their offices ab^{t} the p^{r}miſſes or either of them haue behaued themſelues

undutyfully or hereafter ſhall p^rſume to behaue himſelfe undutifully or are remiſſe or negligent or hereafter ſhall ſoe happen to be in y^e County aforeſ^d & of all & ſingular Articles & Circumſtances & other things whatſoeuer by whomſoeuer & howſoeuer in y^e County aforeſ^d done or perpetrated or w^ch hereafter there howſoeuer ſhall happen to be done or Attempted concerning the full truth of y^e p^rmiſſes or any of them & to Inſpect whatſoeuer Indict^ts ſoe before yo^u or any of yo^u taken or to be taken, or before others late Juſtices of y^e peace in y^e County aforeſ^d done or taken & not yet Ended And to Continue proceſſe thereupon ag^t all & ſingular perſons ſoe Indicted or whom before yo^u hereafter ſhall happen to be Indicted untill they are taken Deliuer up themſelues or be Outlawed. And to heare and determine all & ſingular y^e Larcenys Petty Larcenys Treſpaſſes Extortions Indict^ts aforeſ^d & all & ſingular y^e prmiſſes according to y^e Laus of y^e ſ^d Collony as in Caſes of this nature is uſed or ought to be done, And to Correct & puniſh the Offend^rs & euery of them for

their offences by fines & amercements, or otherwiſe as according to y^e^ Laws of y^e^ f^d^ Collony is uſed or ought to be done

And alſoe we Aſſigne yo^u^ and every three or more of yo^u^ whereof any one of yo^u^ the aforeſ^d^ Tho Sharpe Richard Patiſhall Tho: Giles & Nic^o^ Manning Wee will to be one of our Juſtices to heare try & determine by the oaths of twelue good and Lawfull men of y^e^ County aforeſ^d^ all Cauſes & Caſes there brought & Commenced before yo^u^ as well accõns Caſes & Cauſes Civill between Party & party as Criminall of which y^e^ Juſtices of y^e^ Peace in their Seſſions by the Laws of y^e^ f^d^ Collony may & ought to heare try & determine & in ſuch manner & forme as by the f^d^ Law is p^r^ſcribed & Directed.

Provided always that if upon the Determinacõn of any of y^e^ p^r^miſſes or Caſe of Difficulty ſhall happen to come before yo^u^ or any three or more of yo^u^ that then yo^u^ doe not proceed to giue Judgm^t^ thereupon (unleſſe in y^e^ p^r^ſence of one of our Juſtices of o^r^ Court of Oyer & Terminer within our f^d^ Collony) And therefore wee Command yo^u^ & Every of yo^u^ that yo^u^

Dilligently Attend ab^{t} the Keeping of y^{e} Peace Laws & all & ſingular other y^{e} p^{r}miſſes and that at certaine days & places which by o^{r} Leiut & Governor of o^{r} ſ^{d} Plantation & Collony of N Yorke for that purpoſe ſhall be appointed yo^{u} make Inquiry of y^{e} p^{r}miſſes & all & ſingular y^{e} p^{r}miſſes heare & determine & to doe & accompliſh thoſe things thereupon in forme aforeſ^{d} to be done w^{ch} appertaines to Juſtice according to y^{e} Lawes & Cuſtomes of our ſ^{d} Collony ſauing to us our ffines & Amerciam^{ts} & other things to us thereupon belonging.

Alſo we command by Vertue of theſe p^{r}ſents our Sheriffe of our ſ^{d} County of Cornwall that at Certaine dayes and places (which ſhall be appointed & made Knowne unto him as aforeſ^{d}) he Cauſe to come before yo^{u} or any three or more of yo^{u} as in ſaid ſuch & ſoe many good & Lawfull men of his Baylwick by whom y^{e} truth in y^{e} p^{r}miſſes may be the better knowne & Inquired off. In Teſtimony whereof we haue Cauſed y^{e} ſeale of o^{r} ſ^{d} Collony to be hereunto Affixed. Wittneſſe Jno Palmer Eſq of y^{e} Councell in o^{r} ſ^{d} Col-

lony & Commiſſion^{r} for y^{e} ſettling of our Affaires & Appointing of Juſtices of y^{e} Peace in o^{r} ſ^{d} County the Eighth day of Septemb^{r} in y^{e} ſecond yeare of our Reigne Annoq Dom. 1686.

The Oath of a Juſtice of the Peace.

Y^{e} ſhall ſwear that as Juſtices of the peace in y^{e} County of Cornwall in all articles in the kings Commiſſion to yo^{u} directed yo^{u} ſhall doe equall right to y^{e} poore & to y^{e} Rich after yo^{r} Cuning Witt & power, & after y^{e} Laws of y^{e} Collony thereof made. And yo^{u} ſhall not bee of Counſell of any Quarrell hanging before yo^{u} & that yo^{u} hold yo^{r} Seſſions after the forme of Law thereof made & att times & places appointed And the ffines & Amerciaments that ſhall happen to be made & all forfeitures w^{ch} ſhall fall before yo^{u} yo^{u} ſhall Cauſe to be Entered without any Concealm^{t} or Imbezelling & truly giue them to his Ma^{ties} Deputy Collector and receiver in y^{e} ſ^{d} County for the time being or ſend them to his Ma^{ties} Collector & receiuer Generall att New Yorke or to his Ma^{ties} Court of Exchequer there Ye

ſhall not Lett for Gift or other Cauſe but well & truly yo^{u} ſhall doe yo^{r} office of Juſtice of y^{e} peace in that behalfe & that yo^{u} take nothing for yo^{r} office of Juſtice of the Peace to be done but yo^{r} ffees accuſtomed & Lymitted by Law. And y^{e} ſhall not direct or cauſe to be directed any warrant by yo^{u} to be mad^{e} to y^{e} partyes but yo^{u} ſhall direct them to y^{e} Sherriffe of y^{e} ſ^{d} County or other the Kings officers or Miniſters or other Indifferent perſons to doe Execucõn thereof. Soe help yo^{u} God &c

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Inſtructions for Cap^{t} Nicholas Manning Sub-Collector Surveyo^{r} and Searcher of his Ma^{ties} Cuſtomes and Exciſe due & payable in y^{e} County of Cornwall & Receiuer of his Ma^{ties} Quittrents & other reuenues arriſeing within y^{e} ſ^{d} County.

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxiii.]

Impri^{s}. You are to take notice of all ſhipps and veſſells whatſoever comeing to any porte within y^{e} ſ^{d} County & ſee that

they make Juſt & true Entryes and that Immediately upon their Arriull both of Veſſell & Goods.

2dly You ſhall keep a true & prfect account of all monyes by youu receued on goods in Lieue thereof for his Maties Cuſtomes & Exciſe.

Enter ye Names of all veſſells & the Names of ye Maſters in a Diſtinct booke by youu to be kept for that purpoſe

3dly. You ſhall not prmitt any ſhip or Veſſell whatſoeuer directly or Indirectly to Load nor Unload any goods wares or Merchandize untill yee fd Ship or Veſſell hath firſt made her due Entry inward or outward

4thly. You ſhall appoint certaine Convenient place or places at which & noe other goods may be Shipped or Landed & that at Seaſonable times between ſun riſeing & ſun ſetting in ye day time & in prſence of an officer

5thly You ſhall from time to time dureing your being in fd office Returne to ye Governor or his Maties Collector & Receiuer Generall for the time being att New Yorke a true & Juſt account of what

yo[u] haue receiued & Collected & of yo[r] Proceeding in yo[r] ſ[d] Office once euery ſix months att y[e] furthereſt

6[thly]. You are to Collect & receiue his Maties Cuſtoms & Exciſe in y[e] County of Cornwall aforeſ[d] according to an act of Eſtabliſhm[t] therefor made by the Genrall Aſſembly & publiſhed the 31. October 1683.

7[thly]. You are to goe into y[e] houſe & Cellar of any p[r]ſon or p[r]ſons whatſoeuer where y[e] ſuſpect there is any wine or other Liquors & ord[r] the ſ[d] Liquors to be Gauged Cauſeing them to pay for all Rum ſoe found in y[e] Cellar & they who ſhall ſell by retaile to pay for all Liquors Wines beere & Syder that ſhall be by them ſold & retailed. You are alſoe to goe into their Cellars & houſes as aforeſ[d] as yo[u] ſhall ſee Cauſe to p[r]vent all fraud & Imbezellment of his Ma[ties] Reuenue.

8[thly]. You are not to ſuffer any Veſſell whatſoever to goe into or up Kenebeque River or any parte thereof untill they haue firſt made their Entry with yo[u] at Jameſtown & payed his Ma[ties] Dews & if any ſhall prſume to doe y[e] Contrary y[o]

are to Cauſe both veſſell & Goods to be Seized & proceeded agſt by Law as directed for defrauding his Matie of his Cuſtomes

And that all Veſſells tradeing into any porte River or place doe Enter & Cleere with you before their departure undr the like pains & forfeitures.

9thly You are to take Care that ye former Ordrs made Relateing to ye ffiſhery be duly obſerved & that what Ordred to be payed by all ſtrange veſſells & Shallops Coming to make their voyages in theſe parts be by you duly Collected for his Maties uſe of wch account to be likewiſe giuen as afore directed

10thly. You are not to ſuffer any prſon or prſons to ſell any ſorte of Liquors by retaile in any part or place within ye ſd County but ſuch as ſhall obtaine Lycence from yorſelfe & ſhall pay ſuch ſume of mony for ye Same as you ſhall think fitt to agree for & not Leſſe than 12s for Each Lycence grted and of ye Monys on that behalfe receiued you are to Render a prticuler act to ye Govr as opportunity prſents.

11thly You are to Collect & receiue ye Quitt rents due & payable from ye Severall persons for ye Lands they hold within ye sd County according to a List of Pattents granted Left with you in ye Speties therein mencõned & thereof to Keep a Distinct account & alsoe of all fines forfeitures & amerciaments that shall or may at any time hereafter happen or belong to his Matie & thereof to send an act to ye Governor or his Maties Receiuer Generall att New Yorke for ye time being once euery 6 months att furthereſt.

12thly. In Case any prson Licenced to sell Liquors by Retaile desire ye same you may farme the Excise of their Draught to them for one yeare for such sume of money as you shall think fitt to Agree for haueing regard to ye greatnesse of their Draught.

13thly. You are to write to ye Gouernor or his Maties Collector or Receiuer Generall att New Yorke for ye time being of all passages Concerning the Excise, Customes Quitt rents & other his Maties Reuenue to ye End that suitable Ordrs may be from time to time sent you for regulateing ye same.

14thly. ffor yor Better Governmt in Collecting of ye Cuſtomes & Exciſe aforeſd you haue herewith a Breviar of ye Act of Generall Aſſembly Eſtabliſhing ye ſame And theſe Direccons you are to follow & obſerue untill further Ordrs. Dated att Jameſtown in ye County of Cornwall the 17th day of 7bler in ye ſecond yeare of his Maties Reigne Annoqe Dom 1686

Confirmation of Roſwick or Arrowſick Iſland to John Weſt

[Patents vi. 30.]

Thomas Dongan Capt: Genll: Governor: in Chiefe and Vice Admirall in and over the Province of New Yorke and Territoryes Depending thereon in America under his moſt Sacred Majeſty James the Second by the Grace of God of England, Scottland, ffrance and Ireland King Defender of the faith &c To all whom theſe prſents ſhall Come Sendeth Greeting Whereas John Palmer Eſqr by Virtue of the Commiccon and authority unto him

by me Given by a Certaine Grant under his hand writing the ſeale of this Province thereto affixed and entered of Record in the Secretaryes office bearing Date the fifth *Day* of Auguſt in the Second Yeare of his ſ^{d}: Majeſtyes Reigne and in the Yeare of our Lord one thouſand Six hundred Eighty Six hath Given Granted Rattified and Confirmed unto John Weſt of the Citty of New Yorke in America Gentl All that Certaine Tract or Parcell of Land or Iſland Scituate Lyeing and being on the Eaſt ſide of Kenebeck als Kenebeque River within the County of Cornwall Commonly called or knowne by the Name or Names of Roſwick or Arrowſick Iſland according to the furtheſt Bounds limitts and extents thereof as the ſame is Encompaſſed by Water together wth: all and ſingular the Meſſuages Tenements Edifices Buildings, Trees, Timber Woods underwoods ffields ffeedings Paſtures Moores Marſhes Swamps Meadows Ponds Pooles Lakes Streams Rivers Runns Rivoletts Waters and Water Courſes ffiſhing fowling hawking and hunting with the Privilidge of Building and

Erecting Saw Mills or Grift Mills thereon or on any Parte thereof and all other Privilidges imunityes Profitts benefitts advantages Hereditam^{ts}: and appurtennces whatſoever to the ſaid Tract or Parcell of Land or Iſland and Premiſſes belonging or to or with them or any of them in any wiſe appurteineing Alwayes Excepted and Reſerved out of the ſaid Grant all that Peece or Parcell of Land Parte of the ſaid Iſland at the South end thereof formerly Granted by S^{r}: Edmund Andros Knight late Governour of this Province unto M^{r} Lawrence Dennis & others Inhabitants there Called by the name of New Towne, to Have and to hold the ſaid Tract or Parcell of Land or Iſland and all and Singular other the Premiſſes with their and Every of their appurtennces Except before Excepted unto the ſaid John Weſt his Heires and Aſſignes *to* the Sole and only Proper uſe benefitt and behoofe of the ſaid John Weſt his Heires and Aſſignes forever under ſuch Rents and Services as in the ſaid Grant are mencõned and Reſerved as in and by the ſaid Grant Relacõn y^{r}unto being had may more fully and att Large Appeare.

Now Know yee that by virtue of the Commiſſion and authority unto me Given by his moſt Sacred Majeſty our now Soverigne Lord James the ſecond aforeſaid & Power in me Being and Reſideing for and in Conſideracõn of the Rents and Services herein after Mencõned and Reſerved I have Given Granted Ratified Releaſed and Confirmed and by theſe Preſents Doe Give Grant Rattifie Releaſe and Confirme unto the ſaid John Weſt his Heires and Aſſignes for ever all that the above recited Tract or Parcell of Land or Iſland and Premiſſes with all and Singular the Hereditam^ts and appurtennces thereunto belonging or appertaineing in as full and ample manner as the ſame is mencõned to be Granted unto him by the ſaid John Palmer Except what in the ſaid Grant is Perticulerly Excepted and Reſerved to have and to hold the ſaid Tract or Parcell of Land or Iſland and Premiſſes with their and every of their Appurtennces Except before Excepted unto the ſaid John Weſt his Heires and Aſſignes to the Sole and only Proper uſe beneffitt and behoofe of him the ſaid

John Weſt his Heires and Aſſignes forever Yielding Rendring and Paying therefore Yearly & every Yeare unto his moſt Sacred Majeſty his Heires & Succeſſors forever or to ſuch Officer or Officers as from time to time ſhall be Empowered to Receive the *ſame* the ſume of twenty Shillings Currant Mony of New Yorke in Lieu and Stead of all Rents Services Dues Dutyes and Demands whatſoever, to be holden of his moſt Sacred Majeſty his Heires and Succeſſors in free and common ſoccage according to the Tenure of Eaſt Greenwich in the County of Kent in his Majeſtyes Kingdom of England:

In Teſtimony of the Premiſſeſs I have Cauſed theſe Preſents to be Entred and Recorded in the Secretaryes Office and the Seale of this his Majeſtyes Province to be hereunto affixed the ſixth day of December in the ſecond yeare of his ſaid Majeſtyes Reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand ſix hundred and Eighty Six.

THOMAS DONGAN.

May it Pleaſe your Excellency.

The Attorney Generall hath Peruſed this Pattent and finds nothing Contained therein Prejudicall to his Ma^ties Intereſt.

JA: GRAHAM.

Exam^d 9^mber 30^th 1686.

Att a Councill held att ffort James the ſixth day of December 1686.

Preſent His Excellency the Governour.
Major Antho: Brockholls.
M^r Fredrick Fflipſon.
M^r Steph V. Courtland.
M^r John Spragge
Major Gervis Baxter.

This Pattent was approved off
J. SWINTON Clk Councill.

Royal Order for the Surrender of Pemaquid to Maſſachuſetts

[Deeds viii—75]

James R.

Truſty & well beloved wee Greet you well. Whereas wee have thought fitt to direct that our ffort & Country of Pema-

quid in Regard of its diſtance from New Yorke bee for the future annexed to & Continued under the Governm^t^ of our territory & dominion of New England our will & pleaſure is that you forthwith Deliver or cauſe to be delivered our ſaid ffort & Country of Pemaquid with the Greate Gunns[1] ammunicõn & ſtores of warr together with all other vtenſills & appurtennces belonging to the ſaid ffort into the hands of our truſty & welbeloved S^r^ Edmund Androſs Knight our Captaine Generall & Governour in Cheife of our territory & dominion of New England or to the Governour or Commander in Cheife there for the time being or to ſuch perſon or perſons as they ſhall Impower to receiue the ſame and for ſoe doing this ſhall be your warr^tt^.

Given at our Court at Windſor this 19^th^ day of Sept^r^ 1686 & in the ſecond yeare of our Reigne.

By his Ma^ties^ Comand
SUNDERLAND Cl.

[1] The Great Guns from the Fort at Pemaquid, after being carried to Boſton, were by order of the King in the spring of 1691, transferred to New York. (N. Y. Coll. MSS. xxxvii.)

Remonſtrance againſt Surrender of Pemaquid &c.

[Council Minutes v. 221.]

Council Held at ffort James Wednſday
y^e^ 28^th^ of March 1688

* * * *

Reſolved that an adreſs to his Maj^tie^ be Drawn up giveing his Maj^tie^ an account that this Goverment has bin much Diminiſhed by takeing away Pemaquid the Jerſeys Penſylvania and the three Lower Countys of Delawar. That this is the Bulwarke of all theſe partes of America that the Revenue is but ſmall yett the Charges very great.

That Connetticut in his Maj^ties^ Pattent from Chares y^e^ 2^d^ is added to Boſton by y^e^ Contrivance of the Governo^r^ of it & the Clerke of the Collony & unknown to y^e^ Major parte of y^e^ Collony

That y^e^ ffrench warr has Stopt y^e^ beaver trade ſo y^t^ without ſome ſpeedy help this place will be Ruined.

Notices of Indian Hoſtilities

[New-York Colonial MSS. xxxvii.]

Extract from a letter of John Eaſton of Rhode Iſland to Col Henry Sloughter Governor of New York; dated June 24. 1691.

* * * *

Wee have intelligence that the Eaſtward indians & ſome ffrench have made an aſault vpon y^e^ gariſons in and neere the Towne of Wells and have killed about ſix perſons therabout. They drove their Cattell together & killed them before their faces.

* * *

Notice of Capture of Pemaquid by French and Indians

[Council Minutes vii. 213.]

At a Councel held at his Maties ffort in New Yorke the 23th of Auguſt 1696.

* * * * *

His Excell did Communicate intelligence from Boſton that the two ffrench Shipps that took the Newport Galley with the aſſiſtance of the Indians have taken Pemaquid ffort & that it is reported by one of the Capts that Count ffrontenac has orders to take Albany & Schenectady with intelligence of a great Squadron of Ships lately ſeen upon the coaſt of Jamaica.

* * * * *

Paſſes.

[Paſſ Book—iv.]

Diſpatch granted to the Barke Elizabeth Alizander Woodrop Maſter bound for Pemaquid November: y^e^ 29^th^: 83.

Diſpatch granted to the Sloope Happy Returne James Barry Commander for Pemaquid & New found Land Aprill 26^th^ 1684.

Diſpatch granted to the Sloope Bloſſum Stephen Heacock Comander for Pemaquid May the 22^d^ 1685.

Diſpatch granted to the Sloope Primroſe John Eureſt Maſter for Stratford and off Pemaquid New Yorke July the 4^th^ 1685.

Diſpatch granted to the ſleoop Lewis Francis Baſſett Comander for Pemaquid & New found Land [Sept 4 (?) 1685.]

Diſpatch granted to the Sloope Adventurer Thomas Brookes Commander for Boſton & Pemaquid, June 19th 1686

Lucas Andries Mafr of the ſloop Elias Enters the fd ſloop for Pemaquid with Contents of Loading. [June 20. 1681.]

Lawrence Sluce Enters the ſloop Hopewell himſelfe Maſter ffor Pemquid with Contents of Loading. [Sept 10. 1681.]

Stephen Hiſkott mar of the Sloop Bloſſome Enters the fd Sloop for Pemaquid with Contents of Loading [Oct 21. 1681.]

The following paper having escaped the notice of the compiler of the Pemaquid papers, previous to the printing of the preceding documents, is now inserted. It has no date, and there is no fact by which we can determine it; it was found among the papers of 1692, but we are of opinion that it belongs to a prior period, as the authorities of New York had long ceased to exercise jurisdiction over the territory. It probably had its origin before 1689.

(New York collection of M. S. S. xxxviii, sec'y. office.)
"New Harbour Petition to ye honorable Governor and Councell of Assembly at New York.

To the Right honorable Governor and Councell of Assembly at New Yorke.

The humble Petition of the inhabitants of New Harbour humbly showeth:

That, whereas yor petitioners have beene at great charge in building their habitations, and as yett have noe assurance of either house-lots or the bounds of our place, which is a hindrance to our conveniencyes of planting or making an improvement etc. We humbly (pray) that there may be surveyors appointed for that purpose to lay out lands; likewise the ** of these customs may be taken off, because it never used to be paid by any ffishermen in this world as we know of, and it hinders the coasters coming to us to bring our supplies, and when they do come, the very name of these customs makes them sell their goods almost as dear again, as formerly they used, so that we finde it to be to all the country a grevious burden and to all the people called fishermen an utter ruin. And that Pemaquid may still remain the metropolitan of these parts, because it ever have been so before Boston was settled.

Wherefore your honors poore petioners humbly desire that the honorable Governor and Councell would please to take the premises in to your pious consideration, to order and confirme the lots, bounds and limits of this place to be laid out, and that we may enjoy the labors of our hands and have it for our children after us, and also that the customs may be taken of and raised some other way, and that Pemaquid may be the metropolitan place, and your honors petioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Per order of the inhabitants,

Wm. Sturt, *Town Clerk,*
at Pemaquid.

ARTICLE III.

ANCIENT PEMAQUID:

AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR ITS COLLECTIONS,

BY J. WINGATE THORNTON.

PREFACE.

WITHIN a few years, several of the States, awakened to a just sense of the value of their legislative records, and archives, as indispensable to an accurate knowledge of our institutions, their origin and developement, safeguards and dangers, have adopted means for their collection and publication.

The voluminous collections of New York, edited with distinguished judgment and learning, are of national importance; Connecticut emulates the great example; Rhode Island publishes her proud annals, enriched with illustrative contemporary documents; Massachusetts presents a rigid copy of her Colonial records, in the costliest style of typographic art; and Maine yields to the noble impulse, by judicious aid to her Historical Society.

By this beneficent act of the State, we have a collection of original documents, touching one of the most interesting portions of our territory, of of which ANCIENT PEMAQUID was, in fact, the Capital.

I have not attempted a *town history, a task said to be already taken in hand by Mr. Johnston, a faithful son of Pemaquid, but rather a general review, dwelling on the more salient points, illustrating our ante-colonial history; on the nature, and design of her settlements, the political and social theories tested by them, and the relations of the Colonists, to the French Papists and their Indian allies on the North and East, and to the Puritans on the South; the effects of European politics, reaching even these distant and obscure hamlets, and on the position of Pemaquid, the Capital of the East, as the great outwork of Protestantism, at whose base surged the waves of savage passion, stirred by Jesuit intrigue and brutality.

*"The genuine history of a country can never be well understood without a complete and searching analysis of the component parts of the community, as well as the country. Genealogical inquiries and local topography so far from being unworthy the attention of the philosophical inquirer are amongst the best materials he can use; and the fortunes and changes of one family, or the wants of one upland township, may explain the darkest and most dubious portions of the annals of a realm."

Palgrave's Preface to the Parliamentary Writs.

It would be difficult to find a history so romantic, and replete in examples, distinct in their teachings, as is that amid the ruins of Ancient Pemaquid. The citations are chiefly from original authorities, so far as they have been within my reach, and the favors of correspondents, which are gratefully acknowledged, are particularly noticed in the appropriate notes. I am indebted to my friend Samuel F. Haven, Esq., for the privilege of verifying my copy of the Pemaquid Charter, by that in possession of the American Antiquarian Society, and to the Rev. John L. Sibley, Librarian of Harvard College, for valuable references.

April, 1857.

CHAPTER I.

The first voyagers—a Spanish shallop left at Pemaquid, before 1607—Samaset, Sagamore of Pemaquid, speaks English—welcomes the Pilgrims—Fishermen early at Pemaquid—Codfisheries and Colonization.

On the ourskirts of our historical panorama, we can just descry, here and there, wanderers along the solitary shore; but their foot-prints were effaced by the tide, before the Chronicler appeared, and even the names of these earliest voyagers are lost in the twilight of history.[1]

They were among those adventurous spirits, who are the forerunners in every realm of discovery, but scarce leave a shadow behind them. We only know that they were here.

Thus, on Gosnold's visit to the coast in 1602,[2] some of the aboriginees stepped upon the deck of the "Dartmouth," clothed in European apparel, and with a boldness, in striking contrast to the awe excited by the ships of Columbus;

[1] In Captain Smith's "Historie" he entreats pardon for omitting to mention "divers others that have ranged those parts whose true discriptions were concealed or *died with their authors.* He had purchased six or seven different maps of the coast, but true neither to each other, nor to the country." Lib. vi, fol. 207. Perhaps one of these lost worthies may have been Capt. Hanam, in 1606—see Maine H. C. iii, 297.

[2] iii Hakluyt's Voyages, Lond. Ed. 1810.

and in 1607,[1] Popham and Gilbert had not been at anchor, near Pemaquid, two hours, when they were visited by a party of savages, in a Spanish shallop, a part of whom remained on board all night.

So the Pilgrims at Plymouth,[2] were surprised to hear their mother tongue from the lips of the Indian, Samoset, in the pleasant greeting of "much welcome Englishmen!"

This man, so celebrated from this incident, was "a Sagamore towards the North, where English ships came to fish, from a very early period." Those fishing vessels sometimes took savages to England, as curiosities. At that time, says Shakspeare,[3] "when they would not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they would lay out ten to see a dead Indian."

It has been well suggested, that this welcome from Samoset leaves no unfavorable impression of the early English fishermen, and visitors at Pemaquid, and its vicinity, and tends to relieve the dark shades of character sometimes given to them.

Recent collations of the early historical narratives demonstrate, that the progress of geographical discovery in

[1] Maine H. C. iii, 293.

[2] "Wonder working Providence," 1654, ch. viii. "Mourt's Relation," New York Ed. 1848, p. 57. Smith's Historie p. 233. Bradford's Hist. of Plymouth Plantation, p. 93; for a brief notice of the discovery of Bradford's Mss., and the singular and very honorable appropriation of it by another, see the N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg, October 1856, vol. x, 353,354, compare with p. 5 of the "Editorial Preface" of Bradford.

[3] Tempest, Act ii, sc. ii, acted at Whitehall, Nov. 1, 1611. About 1615, Epenow an Indian, from Martha's Vinyard was shown up and down London for money, as a wonder. Smith, fol. 206. Drake's Book of the Indians, p. 72. Strakey refers to "the Salvadges at this tyme showed in London from the river of Canada."

America is to be credited to the fisheries more than to all other causes.

The accomplished author of the Congressional "Report on the principal fisheries of the American seas," regards it as "historically accurate, to say, that the earliest considerable demand for English ships, of proper size and strength to perform long and perilous voyages, was for explorations and fishing upon our coasts; that British navigation increased with the growth of the fisheries, without which fleets there would have been neither ships nor seamen to execute the plans for the colonization of New England, and of other parts of the continent during the reign of James and Charles."

From the fisheries originated the first of the series of disputes that sealed the fate of King Charles, 1st., and gloriously revolutionized England.

The great navigator, Davis, of the Arctic "Straits," having shown to Walsyngham some of the "great cods," taken in his voyage to the North West; in 1586, that sagacious minister told him to present some of them to Cecil, the Lord Chancellor; and, says Davis, "when his Lordship saw them, and heard the relation of my second voyage, I received favorable countenance from his honor, advising me to prosecute the action of which his Lordship conceived a very good opinion."

Thus did a few "great cods" secure the good will of the goverment to the highest interests of this country; and now, three centuries later, a figure of the cod, in the Capitol of the commercial metropolis of New England, still symbolizes one of the chief sources of our prosperity.

[1] Sabine's Report, 1853, pp. 45-47. Biddle's Memoir of Cabot. Barrow's. Chronological Hist. 1818, pp 35--38. Maritime and Inland Discovery, ii, 183

[2] Hakluyt, Ed. 1810, iii, 156.

CHAPTER II.

Relation of Pemaquid to English Commerce — Bristol on the Avon — Political Elements of the Colony — A private not a royal enterprise — The Aldworths — They befriend Hakluyt — Thomas Aldworth's death — Robert Aldworth equips Pring in 1603 — His description of Monhegan and Pemaquid — Families of Aldworth and Elbridge — Thomas Elbridge comes to Pemaquid.

THE history of ANCIENT PEMAQUID has a peculiar interest not belonging to any other point on our shores. It unites us intimately to one of the principal commercial cities of England, for a lengthened period, second only to [1]London; and, with singular happiness, this historical affiliation is perpetuated in her recent corporate name, BRISTOL.

Seldom has a simple name transmitted greater and richer historical associations. There is a moral beauty in the present quiet and solitude of this ancient capital, whither the man of reflection may retire and more freely contemplate the wonderful history of his country.

No other point, no other name, in our land, concentrates so *entire* a view of the historical connection between America and England. In its colonial period, and by its Patentees, we are at once introduced to the statesmen who guided

[1] McCulloch's Dict. Art. Bristol

our mother country in the most critical period of her modern history; to Walsingham, the father of the Protestant policy of England, the great promoter of English commerce, and the patron of Gilbert and Hakluyt; to Cecil, the prime minister, and to some of the best names in the annals of Bristol commerce.

The merchants of Bristol were early and deeply engaged in the enterprises of American discovery,[1] and England's most distinguished navigator was from that port.

"In the year 1497, the 24th day of June, on St. John's day, was New Foundland found by Bristol men in a ship called the Matthew." Thus England was indebted to Bristol for the acquisition of her American Dominions.

They waited, not as in France and Spain, for the direction and help of the government; but at the outset with a noble independence and self-reliance, assumed that "the planting of the western world was a thing that might be done without the ayde of the Prince's power and purse."[2]

The English Colonies were founded by private adventurers, and at their own expense and risk. New England was colonized by a People, New France by a Government.[3] The one is a nation of citizens, a people; the other has continued a government of subjects.

Thus may be traced to the very beginnings of their history, the distinguishing organic elements of these future na-

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, Lond. Ed. 1810, iii, 167,189,234,237,238,241,531 573. Biddle's Memoirs of Cabot, Lond. 2nd Ed. 79. Corry's Hist. of Bristol, i, 213, in the library of the New England Hist. Genealogical So'y.

[2] Sir George Peckham's Tract on "Western Planting," 1583, in ch. vii, Vol. iii, p. 222, of Hakluyt's Voyages, Lon. Ed. 1810.

[3] Warburton's Conquest of Canada, N. York, 1850, vol. i, iii—xxiii, 219.

tions. In the course of events, we shall find those conflicting principles to have been the sources of the bitter rivalries, the sanguinary conflicts, the irreconcilable hostilities, which crimson almost every page of our Colonial history.

The principles of freedom were wrought out by the English Colonies, while yet in their dependency; and it is the confession of a modern High Church and Tory Reviewer[1] of our history, "that in the annals of the first two Republics of New England we must trace the origin and history of almost every institution now existing in the United States," except slavery, and "that to ascribe to Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, or Adams, and their contemporaries, the whole merit of the invention and creation of that wonderful Republic, would be to rob the early planters of Massachusetts of their well earned fame."

The principles and feelings of the American people were defined and fixed long prior to open hostilities with the mother country; the great cause of writs of assistance in 1761, and the apprehension of Episcopacy about that time, were incidents very late in the history of the revolution which abolished even the name of Royalty.[2]

Among the British merchants we recognize the names and families of ALDWORTH and ELBRIDGE, attractive to us as the Patentees of Pemaquid. The Aldworths were particularly distinguished for their spirit of enterprize in the colonization of New Foundland, and for their commercial transactions with that country and the more Southern coasts.

[1] Haliburton's Rule and Misrule of the English in America, New Yor Ed. 1851, chap. 1.

[2] The Life and Works of John Adams, x. 180—185.

[3] Evans' Hist. of Bristol, 1816, ii, 132—191.

We may indulge an honest pride, a filial satisfaction, in lingering for a moment, on the history of these worthies, our civil fathers.

It is significant of Queen Elizabeth's interest in her American possessions, that Spencer dedicated the "Faery Queen" to her majesty as Queen of England, France, Ireland and VIRGINIA.

The great statesman Walsingham, introduces us to ALDWORTH, merchant and mayor of the city of Bristol, by a note to Mr. Richard Hakluyt of Christ Church, Oxford, as follows: "I understand as well by a letter I long since [in November last] received from [Mr. Thomas Aldworth] the Maior of Bristol, as by conference with Sir George Peckham, that you have endeavored and given much light for the discovery of the Westerne partes yet unknowen; as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue travell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publicke, benefit of this realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11th of March, 1582-3. Your loving Friend,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM."

Thus it appears, that Hakluyt, the great master of the naval history of England, then in the beginning of his studies, and not yet thirty years of age, found in Aldworth, his first friend, and to him he was indebted for his introduction to the notice and encouragement of the Court.

This incident shows the eminent position of Aldworth; yet while all writers eulogize Walsingham's generous patronage of Hakluyt, they, in no instance, pay to Aldworth the tribute of gratitude due to him as the first to appre-

ciate the student's labors and to start him in the path of success. Hakluyt himself was more just, and inserted the letter in the midst of his page.

The introduction was successful, and on the same day, Walsingham wrote to Aldworth, hoping that "the Westerne discoverie will prove profitable to the adventurers, and generally beneficiall to the whole realme," and asking for "some further supply of shipping" for Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was readie to imbarke within these ten days for those parts."

Aldworth's reply is a valuable record of these initiatory steps in American colonization, and shows him to have been a chief promoter of these enterprises.

"Right honorable, upon the receit of your letters directed unto me and delivered by the bearers hereof, Mr. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steventon, bearing date the 11th of March, I presently conferred with my friends in private, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with Mr. William Salterne, deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon, my selfe being as then sicke; with as convenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered; where, after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefit of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters, being directed unto me privately, to be read in publicke, and after some good light given by Mr. Hakluyt unto them that were ignorant of the country and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolved, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, and apparently knowen by their owne speech, and very willing offer, the summe of one thousand markes and upward; which summe, if it should not suffice,

we doubt not but otherwise, to furnish out for this Westerne discovery, a ship of three-score, and a barke of forty tunne, to be left in the country, under the direction and government of your sonne-in-law M. Carlile, of whom we have heard much good, if it shall stand with your honours good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barkes we are also willing to have M. Steventon, your honours messenger, and one well known to us, as captain. And here in humble manner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe us your further direction by a general letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honours best and most convenient leisure, we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further than to the end of April next comming. I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honorable estate.

Bristoll, March 27, 1583."[1]

By the mutual regard and interests of Hakluyt, and his friends in Bristol, he was induced to leave Oxford, and become Prebendary of St. Augustine's Church in that city. His early patron, THOMAS ALDWORTH, died in 1590, but happily for Hakluyt, his successor, ROBERT ALDWORTH, inherited his intelligence and enterprise, and the spirit of adventure still held sway.

By their efforts, on Gosnold's return from America, two vessels, the "Speedwell" and the "Discover," were equipped, and sailed April 10th, 1603, for the discovery of the North part of America, under the command of Martin Pring, and with the permission of Sir Walter Raleigh who was the proprietor of the whole coast, by patent from Queen Elizabeth.

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, Lon Ed. 1810, iii, p. 228.

By Hakluyt's assiduity two of the best of Gosnold's men, John Angell and Robert Salterne, were in this expedition. Before they cleared the coast they heard of Queen Elizabeth's death.

In June they found good anchorage among the islands in the Penobscot, or Pemaquid bay, and plenty of cod, better than those of New Foundland, and rocky shores for drying them. Pemaquid and Monhegan were in view. The islands were "very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grape and sundry sorts of trees, as cedars, spruce, pines, and fir trees." Thence they sailed to the South; and "finding a pleasant hill," supposed to be near what is now Edgartown,[1] they "called it *Mount Aldworth*, for Master ROBERT ALDWORTH'S sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage, as well with his purse, as with his travel."[2]

Thus we find, in the family history of the Patentees of Pemaquid, the story of English discovery on the American coast, and in our Robert Aldworth, a chief adventurer in the voyage which was, perhaps, the first step in the Colonial greatness of England, and which first opened to her industry and enterprise, one of the most fruitful sources of wealth and prosperity.

In St. Mark's church, Bristol, there is a stately monument with two statues, one in memory of Thomas Aldworth, who died in 1590, and the other of his son John, who died in 1615. At the time of the father's death, Robert Aldworth, the Pemaquid Patentee, was in the thirty-eighth year of his age, still engaged in the extensive mercantile transactions in which the family had acquired their wealth. He died in 1634, in

[1] Belknap's American Biography, Hubbard's Ed. 1841, ii, 232,253.

[2] Purcha's Pilgrimage, Lond. 1625, iv, folios 1654, 1656, in Library of Mass. Hist. Society.

his seventy-third year. The historian of Bristol says that he enjoyed his wealth merely because it furnished him the means of alleviating the distresses of the indigent. On his tomb in St. Peter's church, it is recorded, that leaving no issue, he bequeathed all his estate to Giles Elbridge, merchant of Bristol, who married his niece. These gentlemen, many years associated in business, were the Co-patentees and Founders of Pemaquid.

John Elbridge, a descendant, the founder of Bristol Infirmary, died in 1739, and upon his memory rests the splendor which is derived from beneficent activity [1] Thomas, the second son of Giles Elbridge, removed from Bristol to Pemaquid.[2]

[1] Evans' Hist. of Bristol, 1816, ii, 132-191.

[2] Report on Difficulties in Lincoln Co. 1811, p. 50.

CHAPTER III.

Weymouth in 1605 notes "that little river of Pemaquid,"—carries five Pemaquid Indians to England, who were "the means under God of putting on foot" our plantations—Gorges—Pemaquid, the initial—Popham and Gilbert at Monhegan—Purchas' account of the coast, and the tribes—features of Pemaquid and Monhegan, and their inhabitants before colonization. Indian hospitality—explorations—Pemaquid chiefs—Puritanism at the outset.

From about the time that Gosnold christened "Cape Cod," the English fisheries gradually extended South, to the New England shores. Pemaquid and Monhegan were very early favorite resorts of the fishermen, but the period of their first occupation lies far back of any record, and is as indefinite as the early geographical nomenclature of our coast, which as Captain John Smith wrote in 1624, had "formerly been called Norumbega, Virginia, Muskoncus, PENAQUIDA, Cannada, and such other[1] names, as those that ranged the coast, pleased."

[1] Purchas in 1625, (Pilgrimage, Lon. Ed. iv, 1673-1674,) describes the country of *Mawooshen*, discovered by the English in the yeere 1602, 3-4-5-6-7-8 and 9," as forty leagues long from East to West, and fifty leagues from North to South, and bounded on the East by the country of the *Tarranteens*, supposed to be identical with the *Suriquois*. On the South it bordered on the "mayne ocean sea and many islands." This would give a

The reports by Gosnold and Pring, and by Weymouth, who in 1605, specially noted "that the little river of Pemaquid," interested some of the best minds in England.

Weymouth seems to have sailed from Pemaquid directly

sea coast, of one hundred and twenty miles. The chief Lord, or Sagamore of the whole was *Bashabez*. His dominions were watered by nine rivers, of which the Quibiquesson was on the East, and the Shawakotoc, or Saco, on the West. From the following account derived by Purchas from Hakluyt's papers, it seems that a journey across this territory from East to West, occupied thirty days, or more, and as the distance, in a right line, was about a hundred and twenty miles, "a daies journey" must have been about four miles. This estimate may aid us in the journey with Purchas; he says that on the *Quibiquesson* there is one towne ... *Precaute*. The next river is *Pemaquid*, four daies journey [sixteen miles] from the mouth of the *Quibiquesson*, with ten fathoms of water at the mouth, and forty miles up the river, there were two fathoms and a half at *low water;* on both sides of this river for a good distance, the ground is like unto a pleasant meadow, full of long grass. Four daies journey [sixteen miles] from the mouth of the *Pemaquid* is the third river called *Ramassoc*—twelve fathoms at the entrance, and half a mile over—; upon it a towne named *Penobscot*, the Lord whereof is called *Sibatarhood*—it hath fiftie houses, and eightie men; .... three daies journey [twelve miles] South and West from *Ramassoc*, is the fourth river *Apananawapeske*, twentie fathoms at the entrance and a mile broad —on it a town *Meecombe* of fiftie houses and eightie men, where dwelleth *Aramasoga*, and a town called *Chebegnadose*, of thirty houses and ninety men, whose Lord is *Shanke;* four daies [sixteen miles] to the South West is another river, with twenty fathoms water, and a quarter of a mile broad at its mouth; the sixth river is *Appowick*, to the Westward is *Aponeg*, with ten fathoms water and a mile broad at its entrance, three dayes [twelve miles] journey to the Westward is the *Sagadohoc*, where Capt. Popham built St. George's fort and planted the entrance is a mile and a half over. Some thirteen or fourteen dayes from the entrance there is a little arme of the river upon which there are four towns; *Kenebeke, Ketangheanycke, Naragooe* and *Massakiga:* four daies journey [sixteen miles] Westward of *Sagadahoc* is the river *Ashamahaga*, six fathoms water, and an eighth of a mile wide at its entrance, and seven days [twenty-eight miles] further to the

for England, carrying away five of the savages who were on his deck for traffic. He arrived in the month of July at Plymouth, where Ferdinando Gorges was in command. He took the Indians into his special custody, and the Knight declared that "this accident must be acknowledged the means, under God, of putting on foot, and giving life to all our plantations."[1] Verily, Pemaquid forms the initial in New England Colonization, and this we have on the high authority of him whom we proudly claim as the Founder of Maine.

Several voyages[2] were made at the charge of Popham and Gilbert; and under the authority of the Royal patent, the Sagadahock planters were sent out in 1607; on the first of August they fell in with Monahigan, near which they "intended[3] to begin their first plantation." It was the place of ren-

South West is the *Shawakotoc*, or *Shawakatoc*, with six fathoms water and half a mile broad, at the entrance. This places Pemaquid as the second river from the Eastern side of *Bashabez's* dominions and from its extent, we might suppose it to be our *Penobscot*, but there is a town of that name sixteen miles farther West on the Ramassoc, which make it doubtful; the distance between Pemaquid river and the Sagadahock is more than sixty miles by Purchas' account, while it is only forty-four miles from the latter to Saco. The whole number of days from Quibiquesson to Shawagotuck is twenty-nine, equal to one hundred and sixteen miles; but the day's journey from Appowick to the river East of it, are not given: now if we add a day for this, equal to four miles, it will make the full one hundred and twenty miles, or thirty leagues, as stated by Purchas.

[1] Maine H. C. ii, 17. Harris' Voyages, Lon. 1705, i, fol. 817-818.

[2] "Generall Historie," Lib. vi, folio 203-204. Maine Hist. Col. iii, 287.

[3] Hubbard's N. E. 39. This voyage must be identical with that mentioned by Capt. Smith, folio 203; though he says they "set sail" from Plymouth the last of May, and fell in with Monhegan the eleventh of August while Strachey says, (Maine H. C. iii, 292-293,) they "brake ground" in June, and landed here August first.

dezvous for the ships; agreed upon[1] before leaving England. "Mynes were the mayne benefit expected to uphold the charge" of the colony! The President of this enterprise, Popham, died there, and thus New England counts among the earliest if not the very first of her "illustrious dead," the worthy brother of the Lord Chief Justice of England.

On the day of their arrival, the pilot, Robert Davies,[2] with twelve others, rowed out into the bay wherein the ship was anchored and landed on a galland island, where they found gooseberries, strawberries, raspices, hurts, and all the island full of hugh, high trees of divers sorts; after they had delighted themselves there awhile they returned on board againe.[3] Such was the auspicious welcome from fair Monahigan, and here did the feet of the pioneers of English Colonization on our shores, first press American soil; the glad land mark for the sea-worn Puritans, as they neared their new home.

To Strachey we are indebted for a distinct and interesting view of Pemaquid and its people, just as it was seen and described, when Europeans had only traded with the Indians, and had not colonized their shores. This may be considered the first entry in Pemaquid annals, and is fairly entitled to be set forth at length.

On Saturday, August 8th, "Captain Gilbert caused his shipp's boat to be mannde with fourteen persons and the Indian Skidwares, (brought into England by Captaine Way-

[1] Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, 21.

[2] Smith's Gen. Historie, fol. 203, calls him the "Sargeant Marshall" of the new Colony. He was soon despatched to England in Ralegh Gillbert's ship the "Mary and John," with letters to Ch. J. Popham.

[3] Maine H. C. iii, 294-295, note *.

man) and rowed to the Westward from their shipp, to the river of Pemaquid, which they found to be four leagues distant from the ship, where she road. The Indian brought them to the Salvadge's houses, where they found a hundred men, women and children, and their commander or sagamore amongst them, named Nahanada, who had been brought likewise into England, by Captain Wayman, and returned thither by Captain Hanam, setting forth for those parts and some part of Canada the year before; at their first comyng the Indians betooke them to their armes, their bowes and arrowes; but after Nahanada had talked with Skidwares and perceaved that they were Englishmen, he caused them to lay aside their bowes and arrowes, and he himself came unto them and ymbraced them, and made them much welcome, and entertayned them with much chierfulness, and so did they likewise him; and after two hours thus interchangeably spent, they returned abourd againe."

On the next Monday, "Captaine Popham manned his shallop, and Captaine Gilbert his ship boat, with fifty persons in both, and departed for the river of Pemaquid, carrieing with them Skidwares, and arrived in the mouthe of the river; there came forth Nahanada, with all his company of Indians with their bowes and arrowes in their handes. They being before his dwelling-house, would not willingly have all our people come on shoare, using them in all kind sort after their manner; neverthelesse, after one hower, they all suddenly withdrew themselves into the woodes, nor was Skidwares desirous to returne with them any more abourd. Our people loth to proffer any voyolence unto them by drawing him by force, suffered him to stay behind, promising to returne to them the next day following, but he did not. About a month after, these Pemaquid Chiefs, in nine

canoes, with a retinue of forty savages the [1]Wawenock's were entertained by President Popham, at the Fort with much kindness. They "promised Captaine Gilbert to accompany him in their canoes to the river of Penobscot, where the bashaba dwelt," and seem to have continued on friendly terms with the Colonists. On Sunday, the fifth of October, Nahanada, and the other princes accompanied the President to the publicke prayers, both morning and evening, with great reverence and silence;"[2] and so they no more appear to us.

One incident in Strachey's narrative must not be passed without notice. On the only two occasions of special religious celebration, the first Sunday, and the organization of the government, "they heard a *sermon* delivered unto them by their *preacher* Mr. Richard Seymour."[3] Thus "Puritanism" tinctured New England history at the start; the *preacher*, and the *sermon*, already detested in England, were happily inaugurated on New England soil, the chiefest feature in her future policy and history, her very life.

[1] Maine H. C. iii, 96-106.

[2] Maine H. C. iii, 298-302-307.

[3] Maine H. C. iii, 96-106-298-302-307.

CHAPTER IV.

Pemaquid and Monhegan described by Smith in 1614 — his ship rides at Monhegan, while he surveys the coast — staples of trade — the French — Smith suggests permanent plantations — his arguments — Monhegan probably settled before Plymouth — colonists — Rocroft's men winter there in 1618–1619 — Dermer's ship loaded there in 1619 — Gorges' men there in 1620–1623 — Samoset's evidence — Effects of Hunt's rascality.

Captain John Smith's first voyage to this coast in 1614, gives a peculiar interest to Monhegan, (the first land he discovered,) as his rendezvous while surveying the coast for the, now, oldest extant map of New England. At the main land opposite Monhegan, probably Pemaquid, he found a ship of Sir Francis Popham's, which had for many years past visited that place.[1]

Smith places Monhegan "among the remarkablest Iles and Mountaines, for land markes," and describes it as a round high Ile, and close by it Monanis, betwixt which, is a small Harbour, where[2] their ship was anchored. He says, "whilest the Sailors fished, myselfe with eight others of them who might best be spared, ranging the Coast in a small Boat, we

[1] Lib. vi. fol. 215.

[2] Princes Annals, Ed. 1736, 2d pt. pp. 39, 40.

got for trifles near eleven thousand Bever skines, one hundred Martins, as many Otters, and the most of them within a distance of twenty leagues: we ranged the coast both east and west much farther, but eastward our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neere the French who afforded them better, with whom the Salvages had such commerce, that only by trade, they made exceeding great voyages, though they were without the limits of our precincts."[1] Being sent more to get present commodities, than for discoveries, Smith had not liberty to search as he would like, yet he drew a map from point to point and Harbor to Harbor as he "passed close along the shore in a little boat," and called the coast New England. This map he presented to Prince Charles, who gave to "Pemmayquid," the name of John's town, and to Monahigan, "Batties [2]Iles."

Captain Smith's observations convinced him of the utility of permanent[3] settlements in this country, and he passed years in setting forth its advantages to England and her commerce. He scattered his maps in the seaports of the west of England and in London. He argued that "Adam and Eve did *first* begin this innocent work to plant, that Noe and his family began the *second* plantation, and that had our Saviour Christ and his apostles exposed themselves to no more dangers to teach the gospel than we, even we ourselves, had, at this present, been as salvage and as miserable as the most barbarous salvage yet uncivilized." They

[1] Lib. vi. fol. 204.

[2] Lib. vi. fol. 206, 207.

[3] Cabot "in 1498 proposed to people the country with new inhabitants and to establish there a new England."—Biddle's Memoir of Cabot, Lond. 1832, pp. 76, 88, 89.

were slow to perceive what was so clear to his sagacious foresight.

As Monhiggon lay directly in the way of ships bound to our coasts, it must have been a familiar object to the mariner from the beginning, and so we find it in the early narratives. It was the head quarters for all; the ship news from all parts was gathered here; it was the refuge for the unfortunates on the whole coast, and was probably permanently occupied before Plymouth was settled, though by a changing population, mere sojourners or casual visiters rather than by colonists.

Captain Smith intended to plant a colony here, if he had been successful in the whale fishery. In the fall of 1618, Rocroft left several refractory men at Sawguatock, or Saco, providing them with arms and provisions, but they soon found their way to Monhiggon, with which they must have been familiar, and "there they remained all that winter with bad lodging and worse fare;" yet but one of their company, "a sickly man," died there.[1]

They were the first who are known to have wintered on this coast since the sad experience at Sagadehock where a noble name lay sleeping. In the spring of the next year, 1619, Thomas Dermer, master of a fishing ship of two hundred tons, equipped by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, found "people at Monhegan," among whom were Rocroft's men. On the twenty-seventh of May, he left the island in an "open pinnace" of five tons burden, and sailing south westerly "found some antient [Indian] Plantations not long since populous, now utterly void;" in other places there were "remnants, but not free from sicknesse." In this excursion

[1] Prince's Annals, 55. President and Council's Brief relation.—Mass. H. C. xxxix. 9.

he found among the Indians two forlorn Frenchmen, one of whom, three years before, had "escaped shipwreck at the north east of Cape Cod;" with them he returned to Monhegan on the twenty-third of June. In the six weeks his ship had been there, she had been loaded with fish and furs, and soon set sail for home with a company of thirty-eight men and boys, a portion of Rocroft's crew. This shows that a considerable trade, and the community necessary to its transaction, were already at Monhegan.[1] From Captain Dermer's language, it seems that none, at least none of *his* company, remained there; for he regrets "the fewness of his men, not being able to leave behind a competent number for defence:"[1] but Samoset's story related by Mourt,[2] affords incidental evidence that "Monahiggan" was not desolate; for almost immediately after Dermer's departure, Sir Ferdinando Gorges[3] had men there, or near by, and early in the summer of 1620, five of them had wandered towards Plymouth, where the Indians killed three of their number, the survivors escaping, with difficulty, to Monhegan. There are indications of this settlement as late as 1623, when John Sanders, the Chief of Weston's unfortunate company, in their extreme destitution, went to Monhegan for bread, from the fishing vessels, and many of Weston's men there shipped for England.[4]

At this early period, even before the Pilgrims were at Plymouth, there had been aroused in the Indian breast that

[1] Purchas' Pilgrimage, London 1628, iv. 1778, copy in Mass. H. S. Library.

[2] Cheever's N. Y. Ed. 1848, pp. 57, 58.

[3] Gorges' "Brief Narration," chaps. 14, 15, in Maine H. C. ii.

[4] Winslow's "Good News from New England."

jealousy of the English, which animated the patriot King Philip, half a century later; and Dermer, in his cruise of 1619, noticed that "now almost everywhere, where the savages were of any strength, they sought to betray us."[1] They remembered Hunt's treachery.

[1] Purchas' Pilgrimage, London, 1628, iv. 1778, copy in Mass. H. S. Library.

CHAPTER V.

Levett's voyage, 1623 — Samoset's kindness — state of the country — traders on the coast — Abraham Jennens, of Plymouth, sends two ships to the coast, and buys Monhegan of the Plymouth Council in 1622 — notice of Jennens, father-in-law of Goodyeare, of Richmond's Island plantation; their family history — Jennens sells Pemaquid to Robert Aldworth, the first bill of Exchange drawn in New England — these transactions of great value to the Pilgrims.

Modern historical research has brought to light nothing more valuable than the voyage of Christopher Levett[1] to the coast of Maine in the years 1623 and 1624. The simple beauty of the narrative, and the interest of the story, are hardly surpassed by the pages of Robinson Crusoe. Levett was "His Majesty's woodward of Somersetshire, and one of the Council of New England, to which he was admitted on the fifth of May, just before he sailed on the present voyage. He had a grant of six thousand acres of land in the Company's territory, at an expense of one hundred and ten pounds sterling.[2]

First setting foot on "the Isle of Shoulds," he coasted eastward, in an open boat, touching at various points. At

[1] Printed entire in the Maine H. C. ii., pp. 75—109.

[2] Plymouth Council Records.

Capemanwagan, on the east shore of the Sheepscot river, he met with several Indian Chiefs, one of whom was Samoset, Sagamore of Pemaquid.[1] The Indians were on their way to Pemaquid with "some store of beaver coats and skins," "to truck with one Mr. Witheridge, master of a ship of Bastable;" but by Samoset's kind offices, Levett obtained the prize. The ship "Eagle", of which Witheridge was master, belonged to Melshare Bennett, a merchant of Barnstable, and was on the coast under a special license from the Council, issued May fifth. This was granted on the same day that Levett became a member of the [2]Council. The Indians confirmed, what Levett had heard, "that Pemoquid, Capemanwagan, and Monhiggon were already granted to others." Levett found thirty or forty ships trading and fishing along the coast, one of which was "a great ship with seventeen pieces of ordinance, and fifty men." He says that the Plymouth colonists had "one ship fishing at Pemoquid, and another at Cape Ann, where they have begun a new plantation."[3]

Somerset or Samoset, will again appear in the course of our history, parting with his hunting grounds to the English, an act, which, however fairly entered into by them, could not possibly have been appreciated by the Indians, in its full consequence and meaning. The severe moralist, like Edmund Andros, might well call it no better than the "scratch

[1] Same, page 87, note *

[2] I am under obligation to the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, LL. D., for these facts taken by him from the Plymouth Council Records.

[3] Here was the first permanent occupation of Massachusetts proper, and here her civil government was commenced under the Sheffield Charter, Roger Conant, Governor, the true beginning of Massachusetts, to which Endicot's and Winthrop's companies were accessions, and of which they were subsequent Governors.

of a bear's paw;"[1] but, if the lands were not purchased, the only alternative must have been the utter abandonment of the country by the Europeans, or, worse, its acquisition by the violence, which, in later times, is mildly designated "filli-bustering."

The full historic interest of Pemaquid in the dignity of her fathers, and her antiquity is not yet unfolded. The vigorous assaults of Sir Edward Coke in the House of Commons, upon the monopoly of fishing conferred by the Royal Charter upon the great Plymouth Council, so embarrassed the Company in its corporate capacity, that they divided the coast of New England into three portions, and cast lots for their shares. James Stuart, the King, was present, and approved this very modest proceeding, which was pleasant to the man, because it was an exercise of his prerogative. Admiral Smith's map[2] is the basis of the division in Purchas' Pilgrimage, and it is nearly covered with the names of the twenty[3] patentees. Among them was Mr. Abraham Jennens, a merchant of Plymouth, engaged in business with Mr. Ambrose Jennens, of London. These gentlemen employed a large tunnage in the cod fisheries and trade of this coast, and were among the first to adopt the suggestion of Captain Smith, to establish fishing plantations. Smith gives the name of two of their vessels, here in the year 1622,—the "Abraham," of Plymouth, of two hundred and twenty tons, and the "Nightingale," of Portsmouth,

[1] Rev. in N. E. Justified, 21.

[2] Smith's General Historie, continuation, ii. 203.

[3] See Harris' valuable note to Hubbard's N. E., p. 705, and "The Landing at Cape Anne." Chap. 3, p. 6, in the latter, is a fac-simile of Purchas' map. The whole number of patentees was forty, but many "quitted their interest," says Gorges, ch. xxi.

of one hundred tons burden.[1] In the Fall of that year, Mr. Abraham Jennens and Lord Sheffield, each bought of the Plymouth Council, lands in New England, of the value of £110. Under this, Jennens held Monhegan, and established a plantation there, probably one of those referred to by Bradford as "beginning" in 1623. Thus again, the personal history of our first Chief Adventurer introduces us directly to the legal and political history of our country, under the royal grants, on which the name of Jennens is honorably engraved, witness Purchas' map. But he is intimately connected with another of our plantations, as the father-in-law of Moses Goodyeare, co-patentee with Robert [2]Trelawney, of the Richmond Island enterprise, where the names of John Wynter and his son-in-law, the Rev. Robert Jordan, are conspicuous.[3]

[1] New England Trials in Force's Tracts, vol. 2, p. 17.

[2] "Here lieth the body of Judeth, late the wife of Mr. Moses Goodyeare, merchant, daughter of Mr. Abraham Jennens, merchant, aged 24 years, who died in child-bed of a sonne dead-borne, 21 October, 1642. Here also is interred their sone Abraham Goodyeare, aged . . . years, who died 30 September, 1641."

"A younger son of the ancient and respectable family of Trelawney came to Plymouth about the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, and settled himself in the mercantile way. The family soon became opulent, and made considerable purchases in Plymouth and the tything of Weston Peverell. Robert Trelawney, of Ham, had a patent from Charles 1st for a large lot of land in Massachusetts Bay in North America, which through negligence of the family, treachery of agents, and the subsequent independence of the Colony, is in danger of being lost. This Robert Trelawney and some of his successors, represented the borough of Plymouth in Parliament for many years."—Polwhele's Devonshire, iii. 453, 454. See also Bloomfield's Norfolk, vi, 12.

[3] Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, 29. Willis' Portland, ii. 222. Williamson, i. 244.

At this time, Robert Aldworth, Hakluyt's friend, with his partner, the benevolent Gyles Elbridge, also of Bristol, hearing of Mr. Jennens' purpose to break up the plantation at Monhegan, authorized Abraham Shurt to buy the island. Their agent then crossed the Atlantic, and, after examination, negotiated the sale with Jennens' factor, for the sum of fifty pounds sterling, by a draft on his principals; this is, perhaps, the earliest bill of exchange distinctly mentioned in our commercial history. Unless there were instances at Plymouth, this must have been also the first written conveyance of real estate from man to man, in New England annals.

When Governor Dudley, "having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fireside, upon his knee, in the sharp winter" of his first year in New England, indited his famous letter to the Countess of Lincoln, his apology for the petty details in his narrative, was that "small things in the beginning of natural or political bodies are as remarkable as greater in bodies full grown." Even the dissolution of Mr. Jennens' settlement excited no little interest in the scattered hamlets just dotting New England's coast, embryo sovereignties. The tidings were soon wafted abroad by the fisherman's sail.

Bradford's account of the sale of the plantation property, at which he was present, affords too near a view of Monhegan life to be omitted in her history. It appears that at Plymouth "they understood that a plantation which was at Monhegan, and belonged to some merchants of Plymouth, was to breake up, and diverse goods was ther to be sould; the Govr. and Mr. Winslow[1] tooke a boat and some

[1] Bradford, pp. 208, 209, 210. Gov. Bradford and Gov. Edward Winslow, two of the noblest names in our history.

hands and went thither. But Mr. David Thompson, who lived at Pascataway, understanding their purpose, tooke opportunitie to goe with[1] them, which was some hinderance to them both; for they, perceiving their joynte desires to buy, held their goods at higher rates; and not only so, but would not sell a parcell of their trading goods, excepte they sold all. So, lest they should further prejudice one another, they agreed to buy all, and devid them equally between them. They bought also a parcell of goats,[2] which they distributed at home as they saw neede and occasion, and tooke corn for them of y^e^ people, which gave them good content. Their moyety of y^e^ goods came to above 400 lbs. sterling. There was also that Spring a French ship cast away at Sacadahock, in wh^ch^ were many Biscaie ruggs and commodities, which were falen into these[3] mens hands & some other fishermen at Damerins-cove."

[1] It seems they hugged the shore, and did not make a direct course to the island. This was probably the custom of the colonists in their early travels from point to point.

[2] ? The first mention of these animals in New England.

[3] Of Monhegan.

CHAPTER VI.

Objects of the first plantations; advantages of their locations—why afterwards abandoned—progress—French and English rivalry and its disastrous effects—the Jesuit's mission and teachings—Acadia undefined—bounded by the Kennebec—Pemaquid the English out post against the French—its political relations—the first conflict.

Present gains[1] by the fisheries, peltry and precious metals were the chief inducements to discovery and colonization. Even such men as Popham and Gilbert, placed their chief reliance on mines[2] for the support of the Sagadehock Colony; though Lord Bacon had years before uttered his warning that "the hope of mines is very uncertain." The prominent headlands and the mouths of the great rivers offered the greatest facilities for trade; the hunters from the interior periodically visited[3] these points. They

[1] Lord Bacon said let the plantation depend upon "noblemen and gentlemen, rather than merchants, for they ever look to present gain." Of Plantations, "Smith's Generall Historie" *passim.*

[2] Strachey in Maine H. C. iv. 309. This fact indicates Gilbert as the projector of that Colony. The Gilberts were deeply engaged in the Devonshire and Cornwall mines. Westcote's Devonshire, Exeter, 1845, 65, 254 421, 422.

[3] Hubbard's Hist. N. E., Harris' Ed. 30.

also presented great advantages for fortification and economical defence, and commanded a large extent of coast on either hand, thus tending to centralize the traffic then confined to the sea and sea-shore, the only highways for more than a century.

Thus, as the country has become peopled, and the interior threaded with roads, many of the positions of importance in the Colonial period are now isolated and almost desolate. Pemaquid illustrates this movement. Once the bulwark of Protestantism in the East, the Capital of a Colony with its dependencies; as a military post and mart, second only to Boston, it is now dwindled to a mere hamlet, a way-mark in history.

Richmond's Island, near Portland, was also a very early and important post; here were a church and a considerable settlement; ships here discharged their cargoes, and reloaded for Europe; courts were holden here, and here centered all the interests of a broad territory; all this long since disappeared, and has given place to a solitary farm-house.[1]

The pretense of each nation to exclusive territorial jurisdiction, and the struggle for a monopoly of trade[2] and fisheries, were the prolific sources of evil to the English and

[1] Willis' Hist. of Portland, Folsom's Hist. of Saco and Biddeford. The baptismal font there used by the Rev. Robert Jordan about 1610, is now owned by his descendant, Seth Storer, Esq. of Scarboro', Maine. On the 11th of May, 1855, money, some of a coinage prior to 1607, was discovered on the island. A learned and interesting account of this *treasure trove*, by Hon. Wm. Willis, is in the Eastern Argus of May 24, 1855.

[2] Of De Mont's four ships, in 1604, one was for the fur trade, and another to indicate his exclusive privilege of trade. Cape Rosignol perpetuates the name of an *unlicensed* trader, whose ship and cargo were confiscated by De Mont. Haliburton's Nova Scotia, i. 12.

French in America, and a synopsis of French colonization and claims will develop the secret causes of many of the crimson pages of the early annals of Maine.

Maine was distinctively Episcopalian, and was intended as a rival to her Puritan neighbors, yet the record of her mission to the red man is a blank; happier, perhaps, had been her story, had the record proved her more faithful to the professions of her founders.

The French, not less mercenary, but more crafty, early won the savage heart, and turned it against the English, infused with the animosity of religion. The Jesuit did not carry civilization to the Indian, for he adopted the life of the savage; not the gospel, for he but supplanted the powwow; and the new superstitions were scarcely better than the old diabolisms; it was almost an apostasy; he did not "preach the gospel," but debased it to a few manipulations. Father Le Moine re-visiting the Iriquois in the summer of 1653, says that he "baptized little skeletons, who awaited, perhaps, only this drop of the precious blood of Jesus Christ;" and the natives, with superstitious awe, thought that he, like their own wizards, "had to do with the [1]Devil." Such was the Christian faith the poor savage gained from "this zealous priesthood." The Indian was better than his teacher.

By the superiority of civilization the Jesuit became the head of the tribe. Of implicit faith, disciplined to self-negation in the school of Loyola, the progeny of the Inquisition, and envenomed with its deadly hatred, unscrupulous masters of intrigue, these men, the worthy emissaries[2] of

[1] Doc. Hist. New York, i. 30, 37, 40, 49.

[2] Kalm, in Pinkerton quoted Warburton's Conquest of Canada, New York Ed. 1850, ii. 276, 277.

Papal France, instigated the savage to hostilities to the English heretics,[1] whom they represented as the enemies of the true God. They waked the deadly war-whoop, incited the stealthy Indian to fire the planter's solitary cabin with the midnight torch, and scatter the brains of the helpless inmates with the tomahawk;[2] and at their feet were laid the bloody trophies of the scalping knife. The promised boon of these ghastly deeds was Heaven!

In the midst of the universal joy and gratitude in New England, excited by the surrender of Canada in 1760, the patriotic MAYHEW, referring to the savage cruelty and treachery of the French, said, "whatever they may deserve, we certainly owe more reverence to ourselves and to human nature, than at once to dishonor and debase both, by retaliating their perfidy and barbarity. This were as much beneath us, and even more, than for a man of virtue and true honor to become a common executioner. Such work is fit only for them, and for *him*, "whose works they use to do."[3] A century later, in this year of Grace, we are told

[1] Bommaseen, a principal Sagamore of the East, and several other Indians, in the year 1696, said "the French taught 'em, that the Lord Jesus Christ was of the French nation; that his mother the Virgin Mary, was a French lady; that they were the English who had murdered him, and that whereas he rose and went up to the Heavens, all that would recommend themselves unto his favor, must revenge his quarrel upon the English as far as they can." Magnalia, ii, 546. Jeremy Dummer's Memorial, 1709. These Jesuit impositions and falsehoods are still held among the stolid, ignorant, but amiable French Indians. An intelligent traveller devotes a page to them, as they were in 1836. "One inquired if Bethlehem, where Christ was born, was not a town in France?" Dr. Charles T. Jackson's Geology of Maine, 1837, p. 72.

[2] Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire, Farmer's Ed. 1831, 145-147. Douglass' Summary, i. 191.

[3] Discourses on entire reduction of Canada, Boston, 1760, p. 31-57.

by a son of New England, that "pure Romanism was perhaps never exhibited more gracefully, than in the French and English settlements of the New World. Let all honor then," he says, "be paid to the memory of the Jesuit missionaries in America." [1]The modern eulogies of the Romish priest as a missionary of Christianity and civilization, are falsified by his own record. Literature can afford but few parallels to the missionary journals of the Jesuits. Never was Christianity so utterly degraded, so abominably defiled as by them.

A sagacious writer has observed, that the threatening power of France in the New World, served to retain the English Colonies in interested loyalty to England. Notwithstanding the immense superiority of the British Americans, the fleets and armies of the whole country, were indispensable to break the barrier raised up against them by the union, skill and courage of the [2]French.

In the same year that Aldworth and Hakluyt sent Pring on his voyage thither, De Mont, a Frenchman, received from his King, a gift of the whole coast, including Nova Scotia, and reaching far South of New England, under the name of ACADIA. Acadia was long a vague territory and scattered among the *debris* of those early days may be found frequent tokens of the several nationalities of the fishermen and traders—the Pilgrims — to this celebrated ground.

The superior right of actual settlement, disposed of mere constructive titles, and the limits of Acadia fast receded till the Kennebec river was its Western bound, as claimed, by

[1] "Puritan Commonwealth," 1836, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 253-258.

[2] Warburtons' Conquest of Canada, New York, 1850, ii. 366.

either party.[1] Pemaquid, the fortress of a large territory East of this, continued to suffer the fortunes of war, till the decisive year of 1759.

A whole century before Ralegh Gilbert wintered at Sagadehock, Jean Denys, a man of Harfleur, a little seaport of France, drew a map of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence,[2] and an hundred years before Epenow was shown in the streets of London, a Dieppe pilot exhibited natives of the New World to French curiosity.

In the summer of 1604, De Mont's friend, Poutrincourt, selected the site of Annapolis, as a retreat from the world, and became the first known resident in Acadia.

On the third of July 1608, the zealous Romanist, Champlain, laid the foundation of Quebec,[3] the magnificent promontory, fitted by its grandeur and natural strength for the metropolis of New France; here was to be a decisive battle of the two nations, whose politics — so irreconcilable in their principles, so restless and irritating in their mutual repugnance—could not co-exist, but struggled on, till the freest and strongest should triumph, when Wolfe died happy on the plains of Abraham.

From the time of De Mont, the French continued to build their cabins here, till Captain Argal of Virginia was cast ashore at the mouth of the Penobscot, in the year 1613. There he heard of the French at St. Saviour on Mount Desert, and treating them as trespassers on the grant to the Virginia Company of 1606, destroyed their settlement, sent

[1] Charlevoix, Hist. Gen. de la Nouv. France, ii. Lib. xvii, p. 237, Haliburton i. 145.

[2] Warburton's "Conquest of Canada," New York, 1850, i. 49, 84, the work of an accurate and accomplished Historian.

[3] Hawkin's Quebec, Quebec, 1834, p. 96.

some of them to France, and carried fifteen of the Colonists, with the Jesuit priests, captives to Virginia.

Upon this evidence of French encroachment, Argal was at once appointed to the command of the three armed ships, and commissioned to raze all the settlements and forts to the forty-sixth degree of North latitude. It was done effectually. A cross bearing the name of King James was set up at St. Saviour, in token of possession.[1] Thus commenced the sanguinary conflicts which lasted an hundred and fifty years.

[1] Holmes' Annals, i. 145. Williamson's Maine, i. 210-211. In 1618, Edward Rocroft, in a ship belonging to the Plymouth Council, captured a barque fishing and trading within the Company's territory. Williamson i. 217, *Haliburton's Nova Scotia, Halifax*, 1829, *vol. i. chap.* 1.

CHAPTER VII.

Territory of Pemaquid — settlement as a recruiting station — tributes to Captain Smith as the projector — Hubbard's History — did Pierce plant at Pemaquid? notice of him—the probability—priority to Jennens' plantation—Samoset, or Sommerset, Sagamore of Pemaquid, his history and character—contrast with Levett.

Pemaquid, like Acadia, appears to have been of indefinite extent; but under this general name there seems to have been embraced at a later date Monhegan, and its companion, the islet of Monanis, the cluster of the Damariscove islands,[2] and territory somewhat beyond the limits of the peninsula of Pemaquid proper. This euphonious title, which had designated this locality, for centuries, perhaps, before the discovery of the New World, and now so happily preserved, is supposed to be in the Indian tongue, nearly equivalent to our word promontory—land jutting or reaching out into the sea,—a beautiful instance of the pictorial language of the primitive race.

The date of the permanent occupation of Pemaquid cannot be determined with precision. The plantation schemes originated by Admiral Smith, which had been gaining ground for several years, considered in connection with the early fame of these localities, render it very probable that its settlement was at least coeval with that of Plymouth.

The plea was, that actual settlements here would facilitate the fisheries, by economy in time and general expenditures, and thus, by increasing the revenues of the merchants, enable them to establish plantations; it was a system of compensation. The plan has a general resemblance to the commercial stations in the Pacific, as the recruiting ports for whalemen, by which their voyages may be indefinitely lengthened without a necessity of return to their distant homes.

This was the argument urged so zealously by the benevolent Puritan churchman, John White, among the Dorchester merchants, of his parish, which resulted in the establishment of the Massachusetts Colony at Cape Anne, and Salem, under Roger Conant, her first Governor.[1]

The sagacious Admiral's "General Historie" is interspersed with poetical tributes from his friends, according to the usage of that time. Among them was the famous Puritan poet, George Wither, who contributed these lines:

"Your Proict's good;
And may, if followed doubtlesse quit the paine,
With honor, pleasure and a treble gaine;
Besides the benefit that shall arise
To make more happy our Posterities * * *
And the spacious West,
Being *still more with English bloud possest*,
The proud Iberians shall not rule those Seas,
To checke our ships from sailing where they please;
Nor future times make any forraine power
Become so great to force a bound to our." * * *
Or, whatsoever Fate pleaseth to permit,
Be thou still honour'd *for first mouing it*."

1 "The Landing at Cape Anne," Boston, 1854, pp. 40, 41, 69, 72, and the authorities there cited. Douglass' Summary, Lond. 1755, 373, 407. Backus' Hist. New Eng. p. 44. Neale's Hist. of N. E., London, 1720, 122, 125.

Thomas Carlton bears witness to Smith's nobility, which challenges our remembrance here—he says

> "I never knew a Warrior yet, but thee,
> From Wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, & oaths so free."

Hubbard, of Ipswich must be considered as an original authority for many of the facts found in his pages. He was contemporary with the first colonists, and therefore had access to the best sources of information. It is to be regretted that, for the most part, he transmitted to us only the prominent features adapted to the plan of his general history of New England.

He suggests[1] the fuller knowledge of the country, gained by every year's experience of those who came to fish upon the coast, eastward, about the island of Monhegan, Damerille Cove, and other points, "although no [permanent] colony was ever settled in any of those places till the year 1620, when New Plimouth was first planted." This language seems to afford an inference that there were settlements at the eastward in 1620; but we have already found strong presumptive evidence that Monhegan had the precedence of Plymouth, by at least two years.

There was a popular tradition[2] in the year 1750, that John Pierce settled on the eastern shore of Pemaquid, at Broad Bay, under the charter[3] which he obtained from the Plymouth Council, June 1st, 1621, to his own use, but in truth,

[1] Harris' Ed. p, 14.

[2] See the interesting statement by Samuel Welles, of Boston, in 1750, first published in Willis' History of Portland, 1831, vol. i. p. 13, note *.

[3] This patent, the *first* grant from the Plymouth Company, was in the hands of Samuel Welles, of Boston, in 1750. Judge Davis used it in editing Morton's Memorial. Two hundred and thirty-three years from its date, it was printed entire in the Mass. H. C. xlii., 158–163.

as agent for the Plymouth Pilgrims. This establishes the general repute respecting the great antiquity of the Pemaquid settlement, though it is certain that if Pierce himself ever came to New England, his arrival must have been at a later period.[1] The tradition assigned to the supposed settlement a date "some time" before the year 1625. It is not improbable that a man of Pierce's wealth and known enterprise, and especially of his strong interest in New England colonization, may have commenced a plantation there; he held the Plymouth Council's grant in his own name; and in the Spring of 1623 embarked for Plymouth in his own ship, "ye Parragon," freighted with goods and passengers for that Colony; this, Bradford[2] says, "was set out at his own charge, upon hope of great maters, and that he meant to keep the patent to himselfe, and allow the Plymouth planters what territory he pleased, they to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his courts as chief Lord." These known facts are in harmony with the tradition, and seem to entitle it to a rational belief. Possibly that part of the story that Pierce, himself, settled here, originated in the fact that persons of the same surname, *idem sonans*, did actually dwell there from an early period;—a coincidence quite sufficient to warrant the popular conjecture that they were descendants of the Plymouth patentee. Assuming it as true that Pierce did establish a plantation at Broad Bay, (this *exact* location of the settlement is worthy of notice,) it must have been in 1622, or earlier, as his misfortunes by sea and by land

[1] Pierce was baffled by the winds and waves, lost his property, tarnished his character for integrity, tormented himself and the adventurers with tedious litigation in courts and in parliament, and died in poverty.—Bradford's Hist. of Plymouth Colony, 107, 123, 128, 138, 140.

[2] p 138, 139.

began with the voyage of 1623, he being driven back to England, when half way across the Atlantic. By this casualty he was so crippled in his finances as to preclude any further prosecution of such an enterprise. As he embarked on a private adventure, his "hope of great maters" could not have centered at Plymouth, but at some other important point, and this would be at the most famous fishing locality on the whole coast, Pemaquid,—Monhegan being then held by Jennens under the purchase from the Plymouth Council in November of the year 1622.[1]

This harmony of the details of the tradition with facts in authentic history, goes far to establish it as a probable statement, that John Pierce did, under authority of the patent of June, 1621, commence a plantation at Pemaquid, within a year, or a year and a half, after that date. The Jennens purchase being made late in the fall of 1622, they probably planned for a start at Monhegan in the next spring or summer; and this was doubtless one of the movements named in Bradford as beginning in the year 1623: this difference of two years, and the zeal and activity which marked that period, justify the assignment of a priority to the Pierce plantation at Pemaquid.

Other portions of the tradition coincide with the facts found in deeds and other documentary proofs; and the whole affords unequivocal evidence of its substantial truth. It cites that "*some time after* Pierce's settlement was begun, one Mr. Brown made a purchase of a large tract of land of the natives, and as Mr. Pierce's was the most ancient grant thereabouts, they united the grants from home

[1] "Landing at Cape Anne," 1854, p. 16.

with the purchase[1] of the natives." As we have seen, Pierce had defrauded the Plymouth Colony by taking the patent to his sole use, he had become bankrupt, and was not in a way to trouble John Brown or anybody else about Pemaquid land titles.

Levett, in the winter of the years 1623 and 1624, hearing "that Pemoquid and Capmanwagan and Monhiggon, were granted to others," and that one Mr. Witheridge, master of a ship of Barnstaple was already in possession of the Pemaquid station, for trade and truck with the [2]Indians, went to the vicinity of Portland, and there fortified his house "in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies, as are those savage people."

The purchase of Pemaquid in the year 1625, by John Brown, constitutes one of the most memorable epochs in New England history, and introduces to our attention SAMOSET, one of the most beautiful and noble characters that adorn the annals of any people.

It is a glory to Pemaquid, that she can claim Samaset,[1] or Sammerset, as her Lord or Sagamore, and as such he is entitled to our special attention. It was he who welcomed

[1] Mr. Willis first found and noted this most interesting document.—Hist. of Portland, 1831, vol. 1, p. 13, note *. It was written by Samuel Welles of Boston. Notices of him are in Hutchinson's Hist. iii. 20, 21, 51.

[2] In 1623, Melshare Bennett, of Barnstable, paid to the Plymouth Council 16£, 13*s*, 4*d*, for a fishing license for his ship "Eagle," Capt. Wetheridge, on a voyage to this coast. Did the Council levy a duty on the tunnage, or how was this exact value of the license determined?—Maine Hist. Col. ii., 87, 89, 90, 93. Plymouth Council Records from MSS. of Rev. Joseph B. Felt, LL. D. Maine H. C. ii. 87, 90, 93.

[1] Hist. Plymouth Col. 93–97. Mourt's relation, N. Y. Ed. 1848, 57–64. Among the early readings of this name are Samoset, Sammersant, Sommerset, and Samaset.

the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and seemed to them as God's messenger to prepare the way for them in the wilderness. Gov. Bradford says that *Samaset* "came bouldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood, by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, [about Plymouth,] but belonged to y^e^ eastrene parts, wher some English-ships came to fhish, with whom he was acquainted, & could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had gott his language." He told the Pilgrims that he was Sagamore of *Morattiggon*, distant from Plymouth "a dayes sayle with a great wind, and five dayes by land * * * He had a bow and two arrows," and though it was but the middle of March, his only clothing was "a leather about his wast, with a fringe about a span long, or little more." He was a tall, straight man, beardless, with long black hair, cut only on his brow. By his agency and that of his friend Squanto, the Pilgrims made a treaty with Massasoit, which continued uninterrupted down to Philip's war. He extended to Levett the hand of friendship in the visit to his dominions in the year 1623. This voyager says that he was "a Sagamore who hath been very faithful to the English and hath saved the lives of many of our nation, some from starving, others from killing." With the simplicity of Nature, and a generosity peculiarly his own, he proposed to his "cousin" Levett that their sons should be as brothers, and that there should be "*mouchicke legamatch*,"[1] that is, great friendship between them until Tanto carried him to his wigwam, that is, till they died. In every view, Samoset appears in a very attractive

[1] Captain Smith, in his list of Indian words, folio 40 of the Gen. Hist.— "*Mawchick chammy*, The best of friends."

and interesting light. He seems to have been unalloyed with the jealousy which is said to mark the Indian character. His manly confidence and sincerity are in humiliating contrast with the mercenary and sordid spirit of Levett. The savage, as we to our own shame call him, was an honor to humanity, for though untaught, he exemplified the virtues which our representative only professed. So steeped in selfishness was the traveller, that he was unconscious of the shame his own pen was leaving on his character. He [1]writes, "The sagamore told me that I should be very welcome to sit down on his lands, and that he and his wife would go along with me in my boat to see them; which courtesy I had no reason to refuse, *because I had set up my resolution before to settle my plantation at Quack, which I named York*, and was glad of this opportunity, that I had obtained the consent of them, who as I conceive hath a natural right of inheritance, as they are sons of Noah, and therefore do think it fit to carry things *very fairly without compulsion (if it be possible,) for avoiding of treachery.*"

We behold Samoset once again, and then he is heard of no more[2] — sadly prophetic of the fate of his peo-

[1] Maine H. C., ii. 87, 90, 93.

[2] I have since found an original MS., bearing the mark made by Samoset's own hand; it is a bow and arrow. The MS. is as follows: "These present Obellygcaion . . . mee Captaine Sommarset of M . . sc . n . . s [Muscongus?] have sold unto William Parnall and Thomas Way and William England one thousand hakkurs [acres] of land in Soggohannago being Quite England the . . . . day of July, 1653. The mark of Captaine ⌒ Sommarset." Jocelyn wrote in 1673, that "amongst the Eastern Indians, *Summersant* was formerly a famous *Sachem*." "Sumorset's Island" was at the mouth of Broad Bay. John Brown's dep. p. 115 of Com. Rep. Lincoln Co.

It is said that Tappan's Island, near Damariscotta, was the burial place

ple. His last act was true to every known deed and word of his life; he, who was the first to welcome the English, was now the first of his race to part with his hunting grounds; to fix the irrevocable seal, significant of the doom of the red man, all whose race, like Samoset, will soon have passed into history. In this view, a mystery and a sadness envelope the simple instrument, now laid before the reader; more potent in its meaning, for a whole race of men, peopling a continent, than all the bulls of Popedom or the royal acts of Christendom are to the poor Indian's successor.

of the Monhegan Indians, whose skeletons are found about two feet beneath the surface; their uniform position is with the knees drawn up, and the face to the East. Sometimes sheets of copper were placed over their heads—one of them had a copper knife blade set in a bone handle. Dr. Chas. T. Jackson's 3d. Annual Report on Geology of Maine, 1838, 57-58.

CHAPTER VIII.

Samoset's deed to Brown, of New Harbor — its import — its interest as a legal antiquity — Gov. Pownall's view — Abraham Shurt, the Father to American Conveyancing — business at Pemaquid — its relative importance — Shurt's administration of affairs — prosperity—Incidents of Pemaquid life — lawlessness — no authority — Weston's vagabonds — population in 1630 — fortification — trade — Shurt's good faith with the Indians — his tact — Allerton from Plymouth; incidents of his voyage — trouble to the adventurers — the Patent — its advantages — military importance of Pemaquid — affected by European politics.

In the summer of the year 1625, Brown, probably one of the planters sent to New England by Pierce or Jennens, had been so long here as to have ingratiated himself with the Indians, and to be commonly known as "John Brown, of New Harbour." The story of their dealings is told in

SOMERSET'S DEED.

"To ALL PEOPLE whom it may concern. [Ah, my friends, it concerns, fatally, your people on the whole continent.] Know ye, that I, Captain JOHN SOMERSET and UNONGOIT, Indian Sagamores, they being *the proper heirs* to all the lands on both sides of Muscongus river, have bargained and sould to John Brown, of New Harbour, this certain tract or parcell of land, as followeth, that is to say, beginning at Pemaquid Falls and so running a direct course to the head of New Harbour,[1] from thence to the South End of Muscongus Island, taking in the island, and so running five and twenty

[1] New Harbour was a cove on the Eastern shore about two miles from Pemaquid, much frequented by the fishermen.

miles into the Country north and by east, and thence eight miles northwest and by west, and then turning and running south and by west, to Pemaquid, where first begun. To all which lands above bounded, the said Captain JOHN SOMERSET and UNNONGOIT, Indian Sagamores, have granted and made over to the above said John Brown, of New Harbour, in and for consideration of fifty skins, to us in hand paid, to our full satisfaction, for the above mentioned lands and we the above said Indian Sagamores, do bind ourselves and our heirs forever, to defend the above said John Brown, and his heirs in the quiet and peaceable possession of the above said lands. In witness whereunto, I the said Captain JOHN SOMERSET and UNNONGOIT, have set our hands and seals this fifteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred and twenty-five.

His

"Captain JOHN SOMERSET,[2]

Mark.

his

"UNNONGOIT, ⋈ [L. S.]

mark.

"Signed and sealed in presence of us:

"MATTHEW NEWMAN,
"WILLIAM COX,

2 The figure is a fac-simile of his mark, or sign, affixed to the paper of 1653, before given.

Governor Pownall, one of the ablest statesmen in the provincial administration, remarks[1] that "the European land-workers, when they came to settle in America, began trading with Indians, and obtained leave of them to cultivate small tracts, as settlements or dwellings. The Indians, having no other idea of property than what was conformable to their transient, temporary dwelling-places, readily granted this. When they came to perceive the very different effect of settlements of land-workers creating a permanent property, always extending itself, they became very uneasy; but yet, in the true spirit of justice and honour, abided by the effects of concessions which they had made, but which they would not have made, had they understood beforehand the force of them."

The conveyance from Somerset, and acquisition by Brown, marks the distinct legal boundary between barbarism and civility; the hunter, all unconscious of the nature and consequences of the legal formulas of the stranger, alienated his forests and hunting-grounds, and relinquished the streams which had yielded their treasures every summer; he admitted the tiller of the soil to a permanent abode on his ancestral domain, and now the earth, for the first time, consecrated by the hand of labor, will yield her increase; migratory life must disappear before the tenure of the fixed cultivator of the soil; and the ensuing struggle between these hostile conditions of life could end only in the destruction of the weaker. The savage state of vagrant liberty could not co-exist with individual permanent domain in the soil.

Thus the life of the Pemaquid chief, Samoset or Somer-

[1] "Administration of the Colonies."—Lond. 1765, 160, 161.

set, must ever awaken the most tender and interesting reflections; and the generosity, the genuine nobility of soul, displayed by this son of the forest, must be allowed as a fairer index to the true character of the aborigines, than their deeds of resentment or cruelty in after days, when goaded to madness by the cunning, cupidity, and treachery of the European.[1] Only the humanity of an Eliot, or the Christian zeal of a Mayhew, can be shown by us as a parallel to the generous and ingenuous Somerset. The worst portions of the Indian history must be charged, in truth, not to them, but to the French or English.

There is no record of Brown's family[2] at the time of his purchase; but it is certain he was not a hermit; for Pemaquid and Monhegan already presented the busy scenes of trade, the bustle and excitement of coming and departing ships, whose holds were well filled with the homeward cargoes of fish and peltry, and on whose decks were mingled throngs of fishermen, planters and factors, of Indian traffickers, and Sagamores eager for the knives and hatchets of iron, trinkets and glittering baubles, most inviting to savage tastes, — the English stock in trade. At this period, Pemaquid was probably the busiest place on the coast, though Conant was then laying the foundation of Massachusetts at Cape Anne, and the Pilgrims at Plymouth were struggling for life. Weston, Thomson, and Gorges, were here. At the east and north, the French were diligent in their rival plantations, and each watched the other with a jealous eye.

[1] The infamy of the French Jesuits and priests, in their relation to the aborigines is indelible, lurid.

[2] An interesting sketch of Brown's life and family, and of his property might be gleaned from the Lincoln County Commissioners' Report, 1811. See also Barry's History of Framingham.

It was not yet a quarter of century since Robert Aldworth and his associates had commissioned Admiral [1]Pring to survey the New England shores. Every haven, and river, and island had become familiar to the fishermen, and, as we have seen, the old Bristol merchants again appeared, and now became owners of New England soil.

Their agent, Shurt, possessed or assumed the authority of a civil magistrate, and Brown availed himself of the earliest opportunity after his arrival to complete the formality of Somerset's sale of two hundred square miles of his domain.

The precision and conciseness of this first deed of conveyance of American soil, written at Pemaquid, and the neat and compact formula of acknowledgment, drawn up by Abraham Shurt, and still adhered to in New England, word for word, are interesting to the jurist. There was no precedent for the acknowledgment, or the formula, and Mr. Shurt is well entitled to be remembered as the Father of American Conveyancing. The first legislation in Massachusetts, providing for this mode of authenticating deeds, did not occur until the year 1640, when commissioners were especially appointed for the purpose, and Plymouth Colony did not adopt this security against fraudulent conveyances until six years later, in 1646.

THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

July 24, 1626, Captain John Somoset and Unongoit, Indian Sagamores, personally appeared, and acknowledged this instrument to be their act and deed, at Pemaquid.

Before me, Abraham Shurt.

[1]Harris' Collection of Voyages, Lond. 1725, i. 182, 183. Pring was eminent among his contemporaries.

His magistratical power would often be called into use in the plantation, which, but for his presence, would have been lawless; though I am at a loss to know the source of his authority.

For several years, the planters pursued a gainful trade with the Indians for their furs, and gave a practical demonstration to the sagacity and foresight of Capt. John Smith's schemes for colonization, and it is a pleasant thing to know that he lived[1] to witness its auspicious beginning.

The ships brought frequent tidings from home; and the incidents of border experience, and of rival plantations, broke the monotony of the planter's life. One source of uneasiness was lessened by the extinction of the French interests, which were surrendered by Champlain to David Kirk atQuebec on the 19th of July, 1629, though they still hovered about the coast. At this time, Pemaquid was a larger and more important settlement than the capital of Canada.[3] The weakness of authority invited lawlessness and crime, which, in the crude societies of primitive settlements, always hope for the impunity not to be found in older communities; and their cupidity was tempted by the prosperity which distinguished Pemaquid, since the purchase by Jennens, and especially under the judicious management of the agent of the new proprietors, Aldworth and Elbridge.

Next to his own ruin, the chief results of Weston's treachery to the Pilgrims, in attempting a rival plantation, was to scatter along the shore the idle and profligate men whom he had gathered, at hap-hazard, in England.[4]

[1] Virginia Hist. Reg. 1848, p. 19. Drake's Hist. Boston 25, 26.

[2] Haliburton, i, 46. Warburton, i, 94

[3] Warburton's Conquest of Canada, i, 94, *.

[4] John Pierce thought "them so base in condition (for ye most parte) as

There seems to have been no discord between the various interests at Pemaquid, and they were united for general safety and peace.

Within about three years after Shurt's arrival, his plantation extended to Pemaquid,[1] and in the year 1630, no less than eighty-four families, besides the fishermen, were settled at this place and in its vicinity,[2] constituting in the aggregate, probably, a population of between five hundred and six hundred English. The legal services rendered by Shurt to Brown, in perfecting his Indian title to a portion of the soil, indicates a friendship between them; and it may have been under cover of this claim, that Shurt now occupied Pemaquid, some three years before he received formal possession under the patent to Aldworth and Elbridge. The increasing value and population of the colony required a stronger defence, and a fort was erected at the entrance of the harbor. This was four years before the building of the "castle" at Boston. The latter was at first of mud walls, rebuilt with pine trees and earth, and then "a small castle built with brick."[3] The Pemaquid "castle" was probably about as formidable.

Shurt extended his business to the bottom of Massachusetts bay[3] on the west, and far along on the eastern [4]shore, yet, amid the competitions of trade by the various colonies, there is not left on record against him even one complaint: this indicates a high character for fairness and prudence.

in all appearance not fitt for an honest man's company." — Bradford's Plymouth, 123, 133.

[1] In the Patent of Feb. 29, 1631-2, it is said that they had occupied Pemaquid "for the space of three years last past."

[2] Sullivan's Maine, 167. Williamson's Maine, i. 242.

[3] Roger Clapp's Memoir, pub. by Dorchester Ant. Society.

[4] Hubbard, 145. [9] Hubbard, 163.

It was the policy of the Pilgrims to observe perfect faith with the Indians,[1] as the best security for their fidelity; and this seems to have been the principle adopted by Shurt.

The Tarratines, whose territory included Pemaquid, were hostile to the western tribes, and for this reason sought the friendship of the English.[2] In the summer of 1631, a war party of about a hundred of the Tarratines made a murderous assault at midnight upon the wigwam of the Ipswich Sagamore, and carried his wife a captive to [3]Pemaquid. Not long after, Shurt, who had long dealt with those at the west, and was well known to them, was about to dispatch an agent on a trading voyage thither, and to him they committed the captive, for whom a ransom was demanded. The confidence reposed in him by both parties, reflects the highest credit on his integrity.

Every year added to the number of settlements, and Pemaquid was now looked upon as an old colony. There were Mason, at Piscataqua, Cammock, at Black Point, Bonython, at Saco, and the Kennebec Patent. The conflicting titles to lands about the Kennebec, and at Pemaquid, were not set at rest till a late period. They served to [4]collect and perpetuate much historical matter, which would otherwise have been lost.

It was in connection with this patent and the Plymouth trade, that Allerton visited Pemaquid in 1630. Sailing along the shore, eastward, in his shallop, not venturing in a direct course across the sea, but hugging the coast, as the colonists were wont to do for safety, the Plymouth factor had reach-

[1] Bradford, 122, 129, 130.

[2] Hubbard, 30.

[3] Hubbard, 145. Winthrop, i, 59, 60. Lewis' Hist. of Lynn, 75, 76.

[4] Report, Lincoln Co. Commissioners.

ed Cape Anne: it was just at sunrise, about the middle of June, that he went on board the *Arbella*, which had not yet let go her anchor in the waters of New England; and so it pleasantly happened that a pilgrim of the Mayflower was the first to welcome Johnson, and Winthrop, and Dudley, and Bradstreet, and Saltonstall, to New England.

Winthrop came to *supersede*[1] Endicott, governor of the colony, as he had succeeded[2] Conant, the first governor thereof.[3] Thus, amid the various fortunes of the different settlements, Shurt at Pemaquid now saw the plantation that struggled for existence at Cape Anne in 1626, suddenly expanded into the most important colony on the whole coast.

[1] Winthrop, i, 30, 50, Mr. Savage's note, 491. Hubbard's, N. E. 124. Felt's Salem, i, 106. Hutchinson's Mass. Ed. 1795, i, 16, 17. Young's Chron. Mass. 145, note.

[2] Winthrop, i, 52, note ii. 200, Savage's note [2]. Hubbard, 106, 109, 111. Hutchinson, i, 14, 15. Thornton's "Landing at Cape Anne," chaps. v–viii. pp. 69–71.

[3] Hutchinson's Mass. i, 14, 15. Felt's Salem, i, 106. Hubbard's N. E., 102, 106,–110, 116. Douglass' Summary, 1755, i, 373, 407. Mather's Magnalia, i, 62. Neale's Hist. N. E. 1720, 122, 124, 125. Backus' Hist. N. E. i, 44. Barry's Hist. of Mass. i, 153, 157. Everett's Dorchester Oration, July 4, 1855, p. 26. Modern Univ. Hist. London, 1763, xxxix, 277. Rev. John White's "Planter's Plea," in Force's Tracts, Vol. ii, No. iii, 37—44. Mr. White is often styled "*the* Father" of the Colony, and he was its first Historian; his narrative was not intended as a complete history, but to prove the single point that the Colony was not to be "a Nursery of Schismaticks," not "a seminary of faction and separation." It is a sketch of "this Colony" from its "foundation" at Cape Anne, under Gov. Conant, to the date of the departure from England of the fleet of 1630, under the lead of Winthrop — being an outline of the first seven years of our civil existence, before Winthrop joined the Company.—Memoir of Roger Conant by Joseph B. Felt, LL. D., in the N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. 1848.

"Landing at Cape Anne," pp. 44, 70, ch. vi. Winthrop's Journal, ii, 200, note [2], by James Savage, LL. D. Sabine's "Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas," 1853, pp. 117–120, with notes.

The futile and unhappy attempts to monopolize the trade and fisheries on our seas were a prolific source of discord and petty quarrels, highly injurious to the interests of the colony, and detrimental to the adventurers in England, because it embroiled them in the angry political strifes of the times. Their misery was the price of our liberty. The exclusive grant of the fisheries in the American seas was prominent in the catalogue of royal offences, — the abuses of prerogative, and violations of the constitution. The last of these patents was that given to Aldworth and Elbridge. They had extended their settlement from Monhegan to the main land and had fortified[1] the southern point at the mouth of "that little river of Pemaquid" which pleased Captain Weymouth so much in his voyage of the year 1605. Their expenditures were unsafe without a better territorial title than mere occupation afforded; besides, their holding from the Plymouth Council, which was but one move from the crown, gave them a national prestige,—no slight safeguard against foreign adventurers. The grant bears date not long after the treaty[2] of St. Germain, when "baby Charles," with that recklessness of national interests and honor which made the Stuarts detestable, conveyed to France the whole of Canada and Acadia. This folly was the greater, because the limits of Acadia were left undefined. Pemaquid was within this doubtful jurisdiction, and from this time became one of the most important points in the colonial struggles of the two nations, and its fate depended chiefly on interests external to itself. It ranked as a military post, and its history is to be found in the State archives at Paris and

[1] Williamson, i, 242.

[2] Holmes' American Annals, Ed. 1829, i, 213, note [2].

London, at Boston and Albany, and at Toronto. From this it will be seen that Pemaquid has a twofold interest,—one, as illustrating the influence of European politics on the American colonies, and the other, the no less exciting story of its own romantic fortunes, akin to the age of Froissart, and worthy the genius of a Scott.

CHAPTER IX.

Credulity — the French — Piracy — Dixy Bull — first naval fleet — Massachusetts refuses to aid Maine — Winthrop's Journal — the Patent, or Charter to Aldworth and Elbridge, Feb. 29, 1631-2 — possession under it — Acadia ceded to France — Pemaquid claimed by the French — Gov. Bradford's prediction unheeded — scene at Bristol, England — Gorges' good will — Wm. Laud — shipwreck of the "Angel Gabriel" — John Cogswell, Richard Mather — Shurt's prudence and tact — D'Aubrey and La Tour at Pemaquid.

The year 1632 must be counted as unlucky in the annals of Pemaquid. In the month of June, Mr. Shurt embarked for the western settlements with a cargo of about two hundred pounds sterling in value; while at Piscataqua, perhaps to seek an interview with Neale at Little Harbour, or Wannerton at Strawberry Bank, both his vessels and goods were totally lost by the explosion of a barrel of powder, caused by a spark from a pipe; the smoker's carelessness cost him his life. The honest chronicler, Winthrop, relates that "some in the boat were so drunk and fast asleep as they did not awake with the noise!" This story of so profound a slumber might grace the pages of Munchausen, and is equal to Falstaff's "three mis-begotten knaves in Kendal-green." Winthrop, sometimes, shows a view of the marvelous, and though this foolish version of a simple accident has

been stereotyped in New England History, it is evidence only of no special good will to the Eastern colonists. It is worthy of notice as an instance of the sometimes groundless evil reports raised against the planters of Maine.[1]

Another incident in Winthrop's Journal illustrates the inconveniences to which Pemaquid was subject, in common with all the plantations, at that early day. Captain Cammock, of Black Point (Scarboro') and Godfrey, of Piscataqua, arrived at Boston, in the month of October, with a pinnace load of sixteen hogsheads of corn, to be ground there. The windmill at Boston seems to have been the only corn mill in New England, and Pemaquid had to take her grist two weeks' distance from home. Their bread was made of meal from England, or of grain from Virginia, from which the Boston miller took his toll.[2]

More than enough of the refuse and scum of the world always drifts around border life, and Pemaquid with her sister colonists, was not exempt from this evil. From Weston's notable importation of vagabonds, alone, the buccaneer could whistle to his decks whole crews of graceless followers. Allerton, a renegade from Plymouth, early in this year, "set up a company of base fellows, and made them traders" along the coast at the Kennebec, Penobscot, Machias, and wherever they could barter.[3] The French robbed the Penobscot trading house of its contents, coats, rugs, blankets and bread, the usual assortment for Indian traffic. At about the same time they captured the shallop

[1] Winthrop's Journal, i. 94, 95. Hubbard, 195. Magnalia, vi. Prince judiciously omits the scandal in his abstract of Winthrop.

[2] Winthrop i. 104, 108. Belknap's N. H. Farmer's Ed. 13. Memoirs of Roger Clap, Boston, 1850, 20, 31, 42.

[3] Bradford, 291, 292.

and cargo of Dixy Bull, whom they caught trading within their territory.[1]

Then Bull took to himself a company of desperadoes, and raised the black flag of piracy, which now for the first time, waved on the coast of New England. They took several vessels at sea, and rifled the fort at Pemaquid, and plundered the planters. As they were weighing anchor, one of the leaders was disposed of by a well aimed ball from a musket in the hands of one of Shurt's men on the shore. Fear seized on some of the less hardened, the crew was weakened by desertion, and the more desperate fled to the eastward.

Their threats to the western plantations, were soon spread abroad by visitors from the Penobscot, and then "perils did abound as thick as thought could make them." Neale and Hilton at Piscataqua, "sent out all the forces they could make against the pirates,—four pinnaces and shallops and about forty men, who, arriving at Pemaquid, were there windbound about three weeks." This was the first hostile fleet fitted out from New England, the first naval demonstration, and doubtless the little squadron, as it rode at anchor in friendly alliance with our brave colony, had a most dissuasive and healthy influence upon the sons of violence in all the region round about.

Neale wrote to Winthrop about the pirates, asking help; but they felt and showed no great zeal for the safety or thrift of their eastern neighbors; "the extremity of the snow and frost hindered the making ready of the bark;" John Gallop was sent to Pascataquack "to learn more;" the friendly northerly winds of winter delayed his return for a whole month, and by this time, "about the beginning of

[1] Winthrop, i. 94.

January," Neale's vessels had returned to Strawberry bank, the cold being so great that they could not pursue the pirates. It is but fair to state that the Bay people did afterward, in the pleasant month of May, send off Lieutenant Mason, the famous Pequod warrior, to capture Mr. Bull; but he and the "extremity of snow and frost" had both disappeared. There is an amusing coincidence of Winthrop's policy here, with an occurrence of the year before. Gov. Wiggin, of Pascataquack, notified Winthrop of an outrage perpetrated at "Richman's Isle," and urged him to send twenty men to revenge it; but that was an Episcopal plantation; so, says Winthrop, in his journal, "the Governor thought best to sit still awhile, partly because he heard that Capt. Neale, etc., were gone after them, and partly because of the season, (it being then frost and snow,) and want of boats fit for the expedition." To be sure, there must have been an "extremity" of frost and snow on that twenty-second day of October, though two or three days after, the governor entered in his journal that he and Captain Underhill walked to Salem,[1] comfortably enough. This "masterly inactivity" of the "bay" folk had *one* great merit, they promised no more than they did; their leisurely way of sending "help" was unmistakeably significant.

So far as relates to the grants from the King and the great Council of Plymouth, the distinction sometimes made between them as Patents or Charters, is one of words, rather than of substance. Some define a charter as emana-

[1] Roger Clap's Memoirs, Boston, 1850, pp. 35, 36. Winthrop's Journal, i. 94, 114, 116, 118, 123, 75. Hubbard, 160. Prince's Annals, sub anno. In Pynchon's account to the General Court, Sept. 8, 1636, is this entry, "Paid by a bill from Mr. Samuel Maverick, being husband and merchant of the pinnace sent out to take Dixie Bull, for a month's wages to Elias Maverick, £2.0.0.—Mass. H. C. xxxviii. 224.

ting from the Crown directly, but the exercise of this power of the Crown was delegated to the Plymouth Council, in the affairs within its jurisdiction. Another difference is that named by Judge Williamson[1] in commenting on the Pemaquid Patent, that it is "a charter as well as a patent, because, in addition to the rights of property, it confers the power of establishing civil government;" and it may be added, that without this power, the express object of the Plymouth Council would have been defeated: their charter described it to be, "to replenish those deserts with a *People, governed by Lawes and Magistrates.*"

The Patent.

This Indenture made the Nine and twenteth day of February Anno D'm 1631, And in the Seaventh[2] yeere of the Raigne of our Sovraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland, Defender of the ffaith, &c. **Betweene** the President and Councill of New England on the one parte, And Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge of the City of Bristoll merchants, on the other parte, **Wytnesseth** That whereas our Soveraigne Lord King James of famous memori late King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland, by his hignes Letters Pattente and Royall graunt vnder the great Seale of England bearing date the Third day of Nouember In the eighteenth Yeare of his Raigne [1620] of England Fraunce and Ireland &c

[1] Vol. i. 241. "The Landing at Cape Anne," Chap. ii. contains an examination of this question. The Virginia Charters of 1606, 1609, 1612, and that of 1628, were all styled "Letters Patent."

[2] As the 7th of Charles began March 27th, 1631, this must have been 1631-2: Feb. 29th, leap year, also proves it to have been 1632. This has been overlooked.

for the causes therein expressed did absolutely giue graunt and confirme vnto the said President and Councell and their Successors forever, All the land of New England in America lying and being from fortie to fortie eight degrees of northerly Latitude and in length by all that breadth aforesaid from Sea to Sea throughout the Main land, Together with all the woods, waters, soils, rivers, havens, Harbors, Islands, and other commodities whatsoever therevnto belonging with divers other priviledges preheminences profits and timbers, by Sea and land As by the said Letters patents amongst other things contayned wherevnto due relacon being had it doth and may appeare Now this Indenture wytnesseth That the said President and Councell of New England by vertue and authoritie of the said L'res Pattent and for and in consideracon that the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge have and will transport and doth vndertake to Transporte att their owne Costs and Chardges divers persons into New England and there to erect and build a Town and settle diuers Inhabitants for their own safetie better assureance and advancemc^t of the generall plantacon of that Country and for the furtherance of the said Plantacon and Encouragement of the said Vndertakers HAVE agreed and doe hereby agree graunte assigne allott and appointe to the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge theire heirs and assignes and every of them one hundred acres of ground for every Person soe by them, or anie of them Transported or that shall now or hereafter be Transported besides diurse other priviledges liberties and Comodities hereafter menconed. And to that intent they have graunted allotted assigned And confirmed And by theis P^sents doe grante allot assign And confirme vnto the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their

heires and assignes and euerie of them, One hundred seueral acres of ground in New England for every p'son transported or to be transported within the Space of Seaven yeeres next ensuing That shall abide and continew there Three yeares either att one or severall times or dye in the meane season after hee or they are Shipped w^th^ an Intent there to inhabite The same lands to be taken and chosen by them or either or anie of them their deputies or assignes in anie place adjcent to the said Twelve thousand acres of land hereafter menconed to be granted and not lately granted, setled and inhabited by anie English and wherein noe English person or persons are allreadie placed or settled, Togeather with free libertie to ffish in and uppon the Coste of New England in all Havens, Ports, Rivers, and Creeks, thereunto belonging and not granted to any others And that noe person, or persons whatsoever shall take anie benefit, or lib'tie of or to anie of the said grounde, (excepting the free use of high^e^waies by land, and Navigable Rivers) but that the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes, shall haue the Sole right, and use of the said grounds with all their proffitts and appurtenances AND the said President and Councell doe further graunte assigne allott and confirme vnto the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge theire heires and assignes Twelve Thousand acres of land more over and above the foresaid proporcon of One hundred the person for every person Transported or to be Transported as foresaid as his or their proper inheritance forever, The same land to be bounded, Chosen, taken and laid out neare the River Comonly called or known by the name of PEMAQUID or by what other name or names the same is or haue ben or hereafter shal be called or knowne by and next adioyning by both along the Sea

Coast as the Coast lyeth, and Soe upp the River as farr as may Containe the said Twelve Thowsand acres within the said bredth and length Togeather with the said hundred acres for every person by them the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge to be transported as aforesaid Togeather alsoe with all the Iselands and Iselettes within the lymitts aforesaid Three leagues into the Main Ocean Yeelding and paying vnto our Soveraigne Lord the King his heires & Successors One ffifth parte of all the Gould and silver Oare to bee found and had in and on the premises or any parte thereof and one other ffifth part of the same to the said President and Councell aforesaid and their Successors for ever and alsoe **Yeelding and Paying** to the said President and Councell in the name of all other rents services duties and demands whatsoever for every hundred acres of Arrable lands soe obtayned by the same Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes and every or any of them And by those said other P'rson or p'rsons, their heires and assigns The yearely rent of twoe shillings of lawful money of England At the ffeast of S^{t} Michaell the Archangell [September 29th] To the hands of the Rent gatherer of the said President and Councell and their Successor forever (when it shall be by him the said Rent gatherer lawfully demanded) The first payment to begin after the expiracon of the ffirst Seaven yeares next after the date hereof And it shall and may be lawful for the said Vndertakers and Planters, theire heires and Successors ffreely to Truck Trade, and Traffique in all lawful comodities, with the salvages in any parte of **New England** or neighbouring thereabout att their wills and pleasures without lett or disturbance, As also to have libertie to hunte hawke ffish or ffowle in any place or places whatsoever now or hereafter, by any English Inhabited and

the said President and Councell doth Covenant and promise to, and with the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes and everye of them and others the prson or prsons as aforesaid his and their heires and assignes; That theire Tenants or servants shall not be taken from their owne imployments, by any Governor or other there to be established but only for the publique defence of these Countries, or suppression of Rebellion, Riotts, or Routs, or other unlawful assemblies and further it is Covenanted uppon lawful survay to be had and made att the chardge of the said Vndertakers and Planters, and lawful Informacon given of the bounds meets and quantitie of the lands soe as aforesaid to bee by them Chosen and Possessed, They the said President and Councell uppon surrender of this present grante and Indenture and upon reasonable request made by the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires or assignes or any of them, within Seaven yeares now next comeing shall by their deede Indented and Vnder theire Common Seale graunte, enfeoffe and confirme All and every of the said lands sett out, and bounded as aforesaid to the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge and their associats and such as Contracte with them, their heires and assignes in as large and beneficiall manner as the same are in theis prsents granted or intended to be granted or hereafter to be granted to all intents and purposes with all and every pticular priviledges and freedomes reservations and conditions with all dependancies And shall also att any time within the said Terme of Seaven yeares uppon request vnto the said President and Councell made, grannte vnto them the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes letters and grants of Incorporacon by some usuall and fitt name and title with

libertie to them and their successor from time to time to make orders, Laws, Ordinances, and Constitucons for the rule, government, ordering, and directing of all persons to be Transported and setled upon lands hereby graunted intended to be granted, or hereafter to be granted And of the said lands and profits thereby arising, And in the meane tyme and untill such grant be made, it shall be lawful for the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires and assignes from time to time, to establish such laws and ordinances as are for the better Governme[t] of the said prsons soe Transported and the same by such officer or officers as they shall by most voices Elect, and choose to putt in execution.[1]

AND that it shall be lawful for the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge their heires and assignes or either or any of them from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter for their several defence and safetye to encounter expulse expel fortifie defend and resist by force of Armes as well by sea as by land, and by all wayes and meanes whatsoever and to take apprehend seize and make prize of to their owne use, and behoofe All such prson and prsons, their Ships and goods, as without the Speciall license of the said President and Councell and their Successors or the greater parte of them, shall attempt to inhabite or Trade with any of the Salvadge people of that country within the severall precincts or lymitts of their said Plantacon, or shall enterprize or attempt att any tyme hereafter destrucon, invacon or annoyance to the said Plantacon And further that it shall be lawful to and for the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge their heires and assignes, or either of them

[1] This, and every clause of the patent, are drawn evidently with the nicest reference to the provisions in the patent creating the Plymouth Council.

from tyme to tyme to Transport and carry such powder, Shott, provision and Ordonances as shall be necessarie for their defence and further That the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge theire heires or assignes shall not anye tyme hereafter aliene theis p'mises or any parte thereof to any foraigne Nation [especially the French] or to any other prson or prsons whatsoever without the Spetiall License consent and agreem't of the said President and Councell and their Successors and assignes, Except it be to their owne Tenants or Vndertakers, belonging to the said Towne by them to be Erected as aforesaid uppon paine of forfeiture of the said Land soe Aliened, To the Vse of the said President and Councell againe and further know yee that the said President and Councell have made constituted and deputed Authorized and appointed and in their steade and place, doe put Captaine Walter Neale and Richard Vines, gent. or in his or their absence to anie person that shall be theire Governour or other officer to the said President and Councell to be their true and lawful Attorney or Attorneys, and in their name and steade to enter the said Porcon of land, and other the premises, apprtenances or into some Part thereof in the name of the whole soe had and taken then for them, and in their names to deliver the full and peaceable possession and seizen of all and singular the said granted premises vnto the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge or to their certain Attorney or Attorneys in that behalf according to the true intente and meaning of these p sents Ratifying, allowing and confirming all, and whatsoever their said attorney or Attorneys shall doe in or about the p'mises by theis p'sents. In Witness whereof, the President and Councell to the one part of these p'sent Indentures have set their Seale and to the other part thereof

the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge have sett their hands and seals. Given the day and year first above written.

R. WARWICK. [L. S.] FERD. GORGE.

This is a true copy of the Letters pattents under the Seale of the President and Councell of New England signed by the Earle of Warwicke and S^r^ Ferdinando Gorge, examined with the same Letters patents this twenty and sixth day of March 1648, By us whose names are subscribed viz

FRA. YEAMANS, No^ry^ Pubb.
ROBT. DENNIS,
DEW TONY, Servants to the said No. P^c^[1]

After a delay of more than a year, formal possession was given to Shurt, on the 27th of May, by WALTER NEALE, of Piscataqua, to the use of Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge, merchants of the city of Bristol.

The witnesses to this delivery were Captain Thomas Cammock, Founder of Scarboro', and nephew of the Earl of Warwick,[2] Christopher Barkhead, George Newman, Robert Knight, and William Hooke, afterward one of the council of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

[1] Verified by the notarial copy preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

[2] Maine H. C. iii. xv. The valuable fac-similes of the signatures of *Neale Wynter*, and *Shurt*, are furnished by the taste and skill of Miss McKeen, daughter of John McKeen, Esq., of Brunswick. They are from the original document, deposited in the Archives of the Historical Society, by Wm. S. Southgate, Esq., and published in his history of Scarboro,' in Hist. Col. vol. iii. 229.

Charles Stuart's cession of Acadia to France, without defining its limits, alarmed the New England colonies for their safety. Pemaquid stood in the greatest danger, as on doubtful frontier territory, and the late robbery at Penobscot increased the apprehension of further hostilities from the French; but a still greater and more immediate evil was the number of disorderly people drawn hither by the partial abolition of the Plymouth Council's monopoly of trade and fishing,[1] consequent on this alienation of territory.

However unlike the character and domestic policy of the colonies of Maine were to those of Puritan Massachusetts, the growing strength of the Papal French tended gradually to unite them as against their common foe. It was by the treachery of the King, that so dangerous and implacable an enemy had been admitted to their northern and eastern confines.

In the midsummer of the year 1635, D'Aulnay captured the Plymouth fort on the Penobscot, and claimed the territory "as far as Pemaquid" in the name of the French King; but says Winthrop, "they professed all courtesy to us here;" even so; *to us here*, but not to our neighbors of Plymouth, whose possessions on the Kennebec are in danger; so felt Winthrop. A more generous, would have been a wiser policy. The Plymouth Colonists sought the aid of Massachusetts against the French, and Gov. Bradford complained that their merchants furnished the enemy with provisions, powder and shot in the course of trade, "so as in truth ye English themselves have been the chefest supporters of these French; for besids these, the plantation at Pemaquid, (which lyes near unto them) doth not only supply them with what yey want, but gives them continuall intelligence of all

[1] Holmes' Annals, i. 212, 217. Sullivan's Maine, 160.

things that passes among ye English,[1] (espetially some of them,) so as it is no marvell though they still grow & incroach more & more upon ye English, and fill ye Indeans with gunes and munishtion, to the great deanger of ye English, who lye open, & unfortified, living upon husbandrie; and ye other closed up in their forts, well fortified, and live upon trade, in good securitie. If," said the Governor, "these things be not looked to, and remeady provided in time, it may easily be conjectured what they may come to; but I leave them."

The day of retribution did come, and terrible were the fruits of their cupidity. Better for New England, had "their merchants" heeded the apostolic warning to them "that will be rich," and her magistrates listened to the voice of the venerable Pilgrim[2] "to provide remedy in time."

A pleasant incident now carries us to ancient Bristol, and, fortunately enough, we are indulged with a brief yet kindly interview with the foremost friend of our Maine colonists, in all England. On the last Wednesday of May, in this year, the "Angel Gabriel," a strong ship of two hundred and forty tons, and carrying a heavy armament of sixteen guns, swung at her moorings in the King's road, four or five miles distant from the city. Her chief port of destination was Pemaquid, and on her deck was a company of many godly christians, some from other ships, bound for New England;—one of them was Richard Mather,—venerable name! Presently there came across the bay three or four boats, with more passengers, and in one was Sir Ferdinando Gorge, who came to see the ship and the people. He inquired

[1] Winthrop, ii. 318, says, "D'Aulnay had intelligence of all our proceedings."

[2] Hist. of Plymouth, 336, 337.

whether there were any there for Massachusetts bay, and professed his good will to them, and promised that if he ever came there, he would be a true friend unto them.[1] These were kind words, and we will remember them to the honor of the Founder of our State. Could a tithe of his nobility have found harbor in the narrow heart of William Laud, the history of both Englands had not been half so glorious, so noble, but "the Governor among the nations" had destined Laud to be a modern Pharaoh. Sixty years after, the voice of contrition came from the Primate's chair; so eloquent and earnest were Tillotson and other prelates against the follies and crimes of Laud that Increase Mather, to whom they said these fine things, exclaimed that, if such had been the Bishops, "there had never been a New England."[2] But these civilities did no harm. New England did not forget her history, nor the instructions of the Fathers, and a century later, the mere apprehension of Episcopacy, with its Lords, and tithes, contributed as much as any other cause to our political separation from Old England.[3] "No Lords Spiritual, or Temporal in New England" was the toast at their political gatherings.[4]

Mr. Shurt had hardly welcomed the good ship "Angel Gabriel" to her anchorage before his fort, when in the fury of an easterly storm, the vessel and cargo were totally lost, some of the passengers not escaping death. The chief personage in the Company was JOHN COGSWELL, a London

[1] Richard Mather's journal, 7, 8, 10, 13—18, 33, 73. Mather came in the "James," Capt. Taylor. Winthrop ii. 14, says that Gorges "sided with our adversaries against us, but underhand pretending by his letters and speeches to seek our welfare."

[2] Mather's Magnalia, i. 227.

[3] Adams' works, x. 185.

[4] Frothingham's Siege of Boston, 1849, 24, 25.

merchant, of wealth and position, who with the fragments of his freight, and accompanied by his servants, settled at Ipswich, where he was received with much consideration and respect.[1] His family has in every generation done honor to the name, and in our own day it is recognized in the higher walks of learning and social worth. This [2]shipwreck has ever been remembered as one of the most disastrous events in the local annals of Pemaquid. More than one hundred and thirty years afterward, the seal of "The Pemaquid Proprietors" bore a device of the ship, and the legend was "THE ANGEL GABRIEL. A. E. PEMAQUID: 1631,"[3] of which a good representation is here given.

[1] Felt's Ipswich.

[2] Mather's Journal, 73.

[3] A. E. were the initials of the Patentees; 1631 was the date of the Patent, or 1632, New Style. As no mention of this seal occurs in the extant records of the Pemaquid Proprietors, it is not improbable that it may have been used in the early days of Pemaquid. "The Gabriel" a "little Barke," was one of Frobisher's discovery-ships, engaged in no less than three of his expeditions, the voyages of 1576, 1577 and 1588, and she was, it may be supposed, a favorite vessel with him. That ship may be taken as a representative of the naval architecture of that period, which was not essentially modified even down to the days of her namesake the "Angel Gabriel" of Pemaquid memory. Fortunately the contemporary accounts of Frobisher's

"Muhiggin" was noted by Mather on his arrival here in August as "an Iland without inhabitants." Perhaps, the apprehensions from the French, or the greater safety of a compact settlement, had induced the removal of the planters to Pemaquid.

The incidents of the next few years may be deemed inconsiderable in themselves, but apparently trifling objects often divert the current into other channels, and are thus of great import in after times. In this plastic period were fashioned many of our present customs. This is peculiarly true of Maine, for though the peculiar civil and religious features, which the Founders sought to establish, were hopelessly against the spirit of the period, and unsuited to the life of the pioneer in the wilderness, yet it will be seen that their plans were turned awry by petty accidents, against which no foresight can provide:—besides, they illustrate the planter's daily life, the rivalries of neighboring colonies, and the more intimate, personal history, which interest us more

voyages, furnish hints for a general description of this pioneer ship in the mission of christian civilization to the new world. She was of about thirty tons burden, low in the poop, and was laced fore and aft with ropes breast high, a mode of guarding the quarter decks within the memory of the elder portion of our own mariners, but now abandoned for the more permanent and comfortable shelter known as the "monkey rail." She was provided with three anchors and cables, an amount of "ground tackle" that would astonish the modern skipper of so small a craft; nor would he know how to dispose of the ship's company, were he informed that there were to be, "in all, eighteen persons, whereof six were soldiers, and the rest mariners." In the voyage of 1577, "Master Edward Fenton, a gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes was Captaine," and this "small Barke" was of sufficient service." "Madre de Dios," "Cinque Chaques," or "the five wounds," "The Iesus of Lubec," "Vobiscum Deus" were the names of ships of that date. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's discovery ship was of 120 tons, and yet drew 14 feet of water.—Hakluyt, Ed. 1810, iii. 52, 56, 68, 89, 95, 102, 103, 207.

than the abstract of the popular feeling and condition as expressed in laws.

Shurt seems to have had great tact, for the dangerous position of Pemaquid, as a boundary between the French and English claims became, under his prudence, a neutral ground, where he saw the diplomacy of public or private disputants, and won the confidence of both, greatly to the advantage of his trade and fisheries. In the bitter quarrel between La Tour and D'Aulnay, they shared alike the hospitalities of the Pemaquid magistrates. Thus in the year 1641, La Tour's messenger, to Massachusetts, left his boats at Pemaquid, and obtained a letter from Mr. Shurt to those in authority. And in the year following, the Boston merchants, on their way home from a trading voyage to La Tour's establishment, found D'Aulnay upon a visit at Pemaquid;[1] and three years after, when Mr. Richard Vines, of Saco, and the inebriate Thomas Wannerton,[2] of Pascataquack, went to see La Tour, they were arrested by D'Aulnay, but for Mr. Shurt's sake, who was with them, they were soon [3]released. D'Aulnay was in debt to Shurt, and this was a part of the creditor's thrift. Pending her negotiations with D'Aulnay in the year 1646, it was urged by Massachusetts, that the Commissioners should meet at Pemaquid, as compromising the dignity of neither party.[4] The letters and journals all show that Shurt exerted an important influence in public affairs.

[1] Hubbard, 478. Winthrop, ii. 109. Hutch. i. 122, 125.

[2] See Mr. Willis' sketch, nearly all that is known of Wannerton, in the Hist. Gen. Reg.

[3] Winth. ii. 217. Williamson, i. 315.

[4] Winth. ii. 318.

CHAPTER X.

Puritanism — blunders at Whitehall — mercantile pressure — prohibitions withdrawn — Bristol ships for New England — the prosperity of Pemaquid—Phipps' prolific family—Pemaquid planters migrating — friendship between Shurt and Wynter of Richmond's island — Colonial life and incidents — Pemaquid sends cattle to Massachusetts — Elbridge's claim against Wannerton's estate in 1651 — he appeals to Massachusetts — Elbridge holds a manorial court at Pemaquid — difficulties — reasons for them — contrast between Maine and Massachusetts planters — Law and no Law — Shurt's personal influence — his character — Pemaquid a chief station for vessels — Elbridge alienates his estate — land titles — friendship with Rev. Robert Jordan — obtains judgment against Cleeves.

The orders in Council, prove that Laud ruled at that table, and that all interests yielded to his hobby of conformity to the puerilities which he had introduced from the service of the Papal church. His hatred to the Puritan colonists was injurious to the Episcopal enterprises in Maine; for the proclamations that prohibited the exportation of provisions to the plantations did not distinguish between them, and even operated with greatest hardship on his friends; for while Massachusetts and Plymouth began to cultivate the land, each planter his own lot, the Maine settlements, being chiefly trading establishments, depended mostly on England

for provisions. This reliance on others, for the supply of daily necessities, strongly favored the design of thei employers to retain them as servants, or in a condition of vassalage.

In England, as the people grew strong, Laud became weakt The Council were besieged by petitions, and in the year 1638, under the mercantile pressure "that the prohibiting of Ships by proclamacion to goe for New England, without speciall Warrant, was a foundacion to deprive the Kingdome of much Trade, the importacion of much money, his Majestie of much custome, [always a consideration with Majesty,] and many Ships and Seamen of employment," their Lordships began to give way. Among these petitions, one from our patentee appears on the record in these words:

"Att Whitehall, the 21st of July, 1639.

Libertie given to Elbridge to export 80 Passengers and other provisions for New England, they taking the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy."

"Upon the humble peticion of *Gyles Elbridge*, of the Citty of Bristoll merchant, praying Licence for the exportacion of about eighty passengers and some provisions, formerly accustomed for the encreace and Support of his fishing plantacion in New England, Their Lordshipps did this day give leave unto the said Elbridge to exporte for New England the said 80 Passengers, together with such provisions as hath bene formerly accustomed, Provided that hee doe give Bond here by himselfe, or some other Sufficient man to the Clarke of the Counsell, to his Majestie's use, that none of the said persons shall bee shipped untill publickely before the Maior of Bristoll, they haue taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacie. And the Lord Treasurer is

hereby prayed and required to give order to the Officers of the Port of Bristoll accordingly, any former order of the Boord, or other restrainte to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."[1]

Of the thirteen ships and nineteen hundred and thirty-five passengers allowed to emigrate to New England, within five months after the 22d of November 1639, six of the vessels, and ten hundred and twenty-five of the emigrants were from Bristol.

At this date, Pemaquid had all the outward signs of prosperity. By his mediation in the restoration of Wenuchus, the Indian Queen, to her Lord, Montowampate, the Sagamore of Lynn,[2] and by his uniform fair dealing, Shurt had secured the good will of the natives and their trade; he was at peace with both the English and French; even Massachusetts valued his friendship; the rich invoices of fish and furs to Elbridge brought, in return, a plentiful increase of planters, and replenished the colonial stores. These were the halcyon days of this great outpost of English life.

Here we may collect some of the fragments of her history. A worthy gunsmith of ancient Bristol, a young man, found employment in his trade, in the young colony; he arrived here about 1638.[3] His faithful wife had no less than twenty-six children.[4] This worthy matron lived to witness the distinction of her son, Sir William Phipps.

[1] The orders in Council, relating to New England, from 1630 to 1692 are published in the N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. for 1854, pp. 135—145, and in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. 42, pp. 279—304.

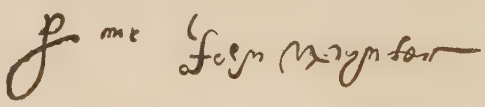
[2] Lewis' History of Lynn, Chap. 3.

[3] Maine Hist. Col. ii. 239, but authority for the date is not given.

[4] Magnalia, Book ii. Chap.

His biographer remarks that Sir William was "equivalent" to the remaining quarter of a hundred of the brood, and it is not surprising that the prolific couple, in their later years, should try their fortune in a new location; but kind Providence followed them, and their famous son William first saw the light at "a despicable plantation on the river of Kennebeck, *almost* the furthest village of the Eastern settlement of New England." To learn to read and write formed no more a part of Gorge's system, than it did of Sir William Berkley's in Virginia, and the young ship carpenter learned the alphabet after his removal to Boston. In the year 1639, John Brown, the friend of Somerset in 1625, had removed to the Kennebeck, and with Edward Bateman, in the Fall of that year, purchased of the sagamore Robinhood, the site of the present town of Woolwich. In the conveyance they are styled "lately of Pemaquid, Planters."[1] These migrations indicate an increasing population, and the Phippses testify to loud cries for more room.

In 1640, Mr. John Wynter at Richmond's Island being defendant in an action to test the validity of Trelawney and Goodyear's patent, his friend Shurt, with Mr. Thomas Williams of Saco,[2] became special bail for him in the sum of £1000.



In the terrible winter of 1641, eight men from Pascataqua, bound to Pemaquid, were driven to Monhegan, where

[1] Maine H. C., iv. 232.

[2] Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, 40, 41, 120.

four of them perished with cold; the rest were discovered by a fisherman some time after, and brought off the Island. They found refuge in the deserted houses of the fishermen.

Upon a Sunday, in the spring of the year 1640, Winthrop made this entry in his Journal,—"Joseph Grafton set sail from Salem, the 2d day [of the week] in the morning, in a ketch of about forty tons, (three men and a boy in her,) and arrived at Pemaquid (the wind easterly) upon the third day in the morning, and there took in some twenty cows, oxen, etc., with hay and water for them, and came to an anchor in the bay the 6th day [of the week, Saturday] about three after noon.[2] This shows an agricultural community, and a high degree of prosperity, that Pemaquid can export their farm products to Massachusetts, but it is significant, too, of the prosperity of the Puritan neighbor, that she needed and could pay for these good things, and before many years poor Pemaquid found herself sorely weakened by repeated losses like this. Unwarily she neglected one of the most essential elements of colonial growth and strength, husbandry. The quickness of the voyage, begun on Monday morning and ended on Saturday, was so remarkable as, though a secular matter, to trespass on the Puritan's thoughts and occupy his pen even on the Lord's day.

The wretched Thomas Wannerton of Pascataqua, who was killed in 1644, left his estate loaded with debt. Among the claimants were Mr. David Yale, Robert Saltonstall, Mr. Richard Cutts, and Mr. Shurt. This involved them in litigation, which, after about three years, was ended

[1] Winth. ii. 72.

[2] Winthrop's Journal, i. 400. Savage's notes.

adversely to Shurt.—The question seems to have been as to the priority of various mortgages.[1] About five years after, in May, 1651, Elbridge petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for relief in the same matter, but they left him to his remedy at law against the administrators of Saltonstall, "as in other cases."

Upon the death of Mr. Aldworth in the year 1634, the patent became the sole property of his nephew Elbridge, and at his decease and that of his eldest son John, it passed to the second son, Thomas Elbridge, in about the year 1647. Not long after this, Mr. Elbridge, who was not blessed with the imposing stature, or commanding mien, best suited to his position as Lord Proprietor, inspiring his dependents with fitting reverence, visited the colony and held a court there to which the inhabitants generally repaired, and recognized him as their liege Lord by paying a certain acknowledgement for the privilege of fishing.[2]

This scene would have gladdened the heart of Sir Ferdinando, as the harbinger of success to his darling projects for Maine, but the Knight's scheme was impracticable.

The most simple-minded planter was compelled by the novelty and necessity of his own position and of every thing about him, to think and act for himself; there were no lords here, no traditionary rights; no *aula regis*, with its boundless power to enforce a palpable wrong: no walls, no castles; he left all those at home; he was literally in a new world, "in the wilderness, in a land that was not

[1] Mass. Col. Rec. May 6th, Nov. 4th, 1646, March, 1647—8.

sown;" and amid the forests, or on the sea, all was free to him who would occupy, and make it his own, by his own labor; necessity was upon all, and placed all on a level; all must labor, and labor became honorable; to each planter, freed from the trammels of prejudice and custom, safe from force, his right to himself, to the fields he had won from the forests, and to the fruits of his labor, became slowly, but divinely clear; Puritanism had leavened the whole English mind, and the colonist proposed to make a personal thing of the liberty which had been only a vague theory at home. All the accidents of time and place were adverse to Gorges' plan of vassalage and dependence; Liberty was the spontaneous growth of New England life. Every one of the anti-puritan colonies, south of the St. Lawrence, though nursed by wealth and power, languished and died, except where Puritanism electrified them by a spark of her own vitality and vigor and political common sense.

The political relation which Elbridge held to the planters was not to last. It was an exotic, whose feeble life, prolonged by expensive and artificial culture, only demonstrated the fact that it could not take root in New England. Tradition, Precedent, Authority, were baseless here; the New Englander ignored their musty accumulations, and simple truth, practical justice, resolved every question, determined every emergency. While our Pemaquid planters were doing homage to their Lord, the puritan planters in Massachusetts were vindicating their rights to self-government, enacting laws, organizing courts, establishing trial by jury, and regulating matters for their own convenience and happiness. The example was infectious, and their frequent resort to the courts of the latter, could not fail to impress the more intelligent of the planters with the

humiliating contrast which the Maine settlements presented to the solid and vigorous character of their Puritan neighbors. The natural results were yearly becoming more and more apparent. The alternate appeals of all parties to Massachusetts could but increase her growing favor.

In Pemaquid, as in the neighboring plantations, the proprietors had not the power to enforce authority, nor a system[1] of laws to enforce, nor did they have any community of interest with the planters, which would beget in the minds of the latter an idea of society, or reverence for law, as operating to their own benefit.

In this condition of carelessness, the general character of the Maine settlements fast degenerated,[2] and the better portion were prepared to welcome the jurisdiction which Massachusetts gradually extended over them.[2] The opposition, sometimes violent, was from the great land proprietors,[2] and from those who feared the halter,[3] two classes acting together, but from very different motives. Massachusetts did not usurp this jurisdiction; the colonists petitioned for her protection, because of the total inefficiency of their would-be Lords.

The accurate and candid biographer of the American Loyalists, in concluding an outline of the controversies about the timber lands of Maine, says, "But I cannot leave this part of the subject without commending the indomitable spirit evinced by Massachusetts in her struggles to root out Gorges and the cavaliers of his planting, out of Maine, and

[1] Sullivan's Maine, 160.

[2] Hutchinson's papers, 314. Williamson, i. 335—337, 404, 405. Sullivan, 318—373. Hutchinson. Hubbard, 542—543. Mass. Coll. Records. Willis's Portland, Chap. iv—vi.

[3] Royal Commissioners' Rep., 1667, in Hutchinson's Papers, 424.

to put in their places the humbler but purer Roundheads of her own kindred. Had she faltered when dukes and lords signed parchments that conveyed away her soil; had she not sought to push her sovereignty over men and territories not originally her own; had she not broken down French seignories and English feoffdoms,—Maine, east of Gorges' eastern boundary, the Kennebeck, might have continued a part of the British Empire to this hour." He adds, "this opinion is given considerately, and not to round out a period."[1]

Though agent of the Patentees, and acting as a magistrate, whatever of deference was paid to Mr. Shurt was not to his authority, but a voluntary tribute to his private worth, and the respect with which a long life of integrity and energy had inspired them. "It is not a work for every one to manage such an affaire," wrote Admiral Smith, "it requires all the best parts of art, Judgment, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry to doe but neere well."[2]

Meantime Pemaquid continued to increase in trade; her port was the great entrepot between the east and the west; it was the principal mart for fish, and the chief resort for vessels on the coast:[3] and in population she was the principal plantation between the Penobscot and the [4]Kennebec, and, perhaps, as far as the Piscataqua. Elbridge's experience was not, at the last, more satisfactory than that of

[1] From a series of able articles on the Public Lands in Maine, published by Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, in the Boston Courier of Feb. 13, 14, 21, 26; March 14, 19, 21; April 15, 23; May 1, 1851.

[2] "Generall Historie," folio, 208.

[3] Sabine's Report, 107.

[4] Williamson, i. 388.

other Proprietors, and in a few years he alienated the property. Captain Paul White, a successful trader at Pemaquid, and who is styled, in the deed of conveyance, "Merchant," bought a moiety of the Patent, but retained it only two years, and then removed to Newburyport, where he built the first dock, wharf, and warehouse in that ancient port,[1] and there died in 1679, in his ninetieth year. Elbridge sold his remaining interest to Nicholas Davison, a mariner of Charlestown, who had the misfortune to bequeath the whole Patent to his family. It laid dormant through the Indian wars, but was revived in the next century, and from this originated the land company known as the Pemaquid Proprietors, and since then called the Drowne claim. This, with other conflicting titles, led to grievous ills in Lincoln County,[2] almost equal to the Indian wars, till they were ended by legislative mediation in 1811 and 1812. Elbridge became embroiled in political and personal difficulties. In 1659 he recovered heavy damages against George Cleeves in two actions, one for defamation, and the other for assault and battery.[3] He was intimate with the Rev. Robert Jordan of Falmouth, a friendship strengthened by their political affinities.

[1] Com. Rep. 1811, p. 10, 41. Coffin's Newbury, 60, 321.

[2] The "Boston Journal" newspaper contained a graphic account of these difficulties, by an eye-witness, John H. Sheppard, Esq. They should be put in a permanent form.

[3] Willis's Portland, 1, 83.

CHAPTER XI.

Acadia taken from the French—Temple appointed Governor—his friendship for Massachusetts—Pemaquid declines in importance—visit of the Royal Commissioners—their unfavorable report—its exaggerations and falsities—Pemaquid statistics bad enough—good reasons for it—Puritan vigor—Josselyn's account of Pemaquid life—the Dukedom—the colonists neglected—their misfortunes—an Ecclesiastical Court among the fisher men and its absurdity—moral influence of Massachusetts irresistible—testimony of Thomas Elbridge—popular will—contrast between the colonies and its causes—political changes at Pemaquid—the Jesuits and the Indians—danger—Charles Stuart's treachery—defrauds Temple.

Cromwell and England being in the zenith of prosperity and power, New England enjoyed the friendship of the home government. His Highness' Commissioners, Robert Sedgwick and John Leverett, both New England men, arrived here to oust the Dutch from New York; but news of the peace with Holland prevented. Sedgwick, the Commander-in-Chief, then joined his forces with those of Massachusetts, against the French Forts at the East, and Acadia again became English territory. Charles I. had dishonestly bestowed it, as his own, on the French Monarch, violating his patents to Sir David Kirk and Sir William Alexander, who had been at all the expense and labor of colonizing and cultivating the country. Cromwell righted this wrong. This was in 1654.[1] The inhabitants

[1] Holmes' Annals, i. 300, 301, with facts and authorities there given at large. Modern Univ. Hist., Lond., 1753, xxxix. 256.

were secured in their religion and property, and Sir Thomas Temple was appointed governor of the conquered territory. He was a friend to Massachusetts. This change in the east seems to have affected the channels of trade, and increased the direct intercourse with Massachusetts,[1] to the disadvantage of Pemaquid. There is but little to interest us in her history for the next few years, which seems to have been a period of decline. Though the religious and political sympathies of the Royal Commissioners were with the eastern settlements, still they made a very unfavorable report respecting them; saying that "upon Shipscot river and upon Pemaquid, 8 or 10 miles asunder, are three small plantations belonging to his royal highnesse, the biggest of which hath not above thirty houses in it, and those very mean ones too, and spread over eight miles at least. Those people for the most part are fishermen, and never had any government among them, most of them are such as have fled from other places to avoide justice,"[2] "the worst of men."[3]

[1] In 1665, the Royal Commissioners reported that Massachusetts had "ingrossed the whole trade of New England." Hutchinson's Papers, p. 421.

[2] Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, p. 424.

[3] Doc. Col. Hist., New York, iii. 101. They add "as many men may share in a woman as they do in a boat;" undoubtedly the "Royal Commissioners" lied, but granting it to be true, they (the fishermen), were less public in their filth than was their "Royal" master, the Prince of Cuckolds, who not only had many bawds, but they had many friends. It is not at all probable that the morals of the Sagadehock fishermen were a tithe so vile as Charles II. and his court are known to have been; and the criminal records of Massachusetts and Josselyn's narrative brand "Commissioner" Maverick with the deepest infamy.

One of these Commissioners was Mr. Samuel Mavericke

of Boston, a man of bad reputation; *their* harsh and wholesale depreciation of one of the principal Episcopal settlements on the coast, and the severe reflection that "they never had any government among them," may well arrest our attention: it was not an enemy that said this, no Puritans, but the Commissioners of Charles II.; it is the language of contempt towards a people always obedient, and without a trace of Puritanism, but loyalty itself—a people whose social and material condition was the legitimate result of the system adopted by Gorges, favored by Laud, and hated by the Puritans. It fulfilled the great law of "the tree yielding fruit after his kind."

But these sweeping statements from the Commissioners were exaggerated; they must be taken as a brief and careless, or ill-natured survey. Our neighbor Josselyn of Blackpoint was in the same fault, when he described Boston in 1638 as "a village of not above twenty or thirty houses"! but this author reported of these settlements soon after the Commissioners' visit, that there were many houses scattered all along, and stages for fishermen, and that it was well stored with cattle and corn-lands.[1]

The magistrate of Pemaquid was not a shiftless man, but possessing, in an unusual degree, integrity and tact; and by these qualities he exerted a conservative influence on those who gathered about him as their principal and example; the population was greatly understated by the Commissioners, as in 1630 there were about five hundred

[1] Williamson, i. 423.

inhabitants, and Sullivan states it at a much higher number, a few years after, in 1673.[1] Still their dark and unfavorable report was not without truth. That the inefficiency of the authorities in Maine made her coast a refuge for fugitives from justice, was just what the Puritans had always feared and alleged; and it was argued by them, that, if the prelatical colonies were too helpless to enforce justice, their more vigorous neighbors might rightly interfere for the general benefit, and, as we have seen, the best part of the Maine people thought so too.[2] Josselyn, who left Black Point for England in the summer of 1671, describes the people of Maine after several years' residence among them. He classifies them as "Magistrates, Husbandmen or Planters, and fishermen; of the Magistrates, some be Royalists, the rest perverse Spirits, the like are the planters and fishers, of which some be planters and fishers both, others meer fishers; there are but few handcraftsmen, and no shopkeepers; English goods being kept by the Massachusetts merchants, here and there, on the coast, at a profit of cent. per cent., in exchange for fish." "They have a custom of taking Tobacco, sleeping at noon, sitting long at meals some-times four times in a day, and now and then drinking a dram of the bottle extraordinarily: the smoaking of Tobacco, if moderately used refresheth the weary very much, and so doth sleep"! The fisherman of that day he paints to the life. He says "to every Shallop belong four fishermen, a Master or Steersman, a midship-man, and a Foremastman, and a shoreman who washes it out of the salt, and dries it upon hurdles

[1] Mass. H. C., xxiii. 345; also Report of Commissioners.

[2] The best outline of this point in our history is by the late Mr. Harris, among his valuable notes to Hubbard's Hist. of New England, pp. 744—766.

pitcht upon stakes breast high and tends their Cookery; these often get in one voyage Eight or Nine pound a man for their shares, but it doth some of them but little good," for there comes in "a walking Tavern, a Bark laden with the Legitimate blond of the rich grape"; "the conclusion of which is the costly sin of drunkenness." Of this nature, says Josselyn, "are the people in the Duke's Province, who, not long before I left the Countrey, petitioned" "Massachusetts to take them into their government; Birds of a feather will ralley together."[1] We protest that this was not Puritan plumage, and that such fowls never were raised on the Puritan farm.

The interests or wishes of the people, if they presumed to have any, did, in fact, enter not at all into the consideration of the King, who disposed of their territory upon the caprice of the moment, and for merely personal objects, so that we are but little surprised by the gift of March 12th, 1664–5, to his brother James, the Papist, of the territory between the St. Croix and Pemaquid[2] river. This was included in the Patent with New York. The Duke left them for years without any attention; yet if they had attempted self-government, after the precedent in Massachusetts, they would have been crushed. They stood in an anomalous position; their owners would not govern them, nor yet were they permitted to govern themselves; and then comes the vilifying report of the Commissioners, that they "never had a government," heaping on them censures which belonged to any body but the colonists. But, about this time, the visit of the Royal Commissioners

[1] Josselyn's two voyages. Mass. H. C. xxxiii. 348—352.

[2] Holmes' Annals, i. 333. Hubbard's N. E., Harris's note 719. Williamson, i. 407.

caused a spasmodic action; they commissioned Henry Jocelyn,[1] Esq., Rev. Robert Jordan, Mr. Thomas [2] Gardner of Pemaquid, Mr. George Munjoy, Capt. Nicholas Raynol, and Mr. William Dyer, who took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and of a justice of the peace, on the fifth of September, in John Mason's house, on the Sheepscot. But the Royal benevolence looked beyond their temporal welfare; it sought also the spiritual safety of these worthy fishermen, far distant from the home of "the Holy Mother Church," yet her faithful children; they were in dangerous contiguity to the recreant and apostate Puritans, and as a precaution against this moral poison, the Commissioners instituted an ecclesiastical tribunal!—such is the record [3]—and when this venerable body was divided in opinion,

"in wand'ring mazes lost,"

on any question of heresy or schism, of errors theological or ritualistic, which could be supposed to agitate such a community, then the judicious Jocelyn was to decide:

"deep on his front engraven
Deliberation sat and public care."

Sullivan assures us that this institution is the only one of the kind, ever heard of here, or in England. It would not be uninteresting to compare the proceedings of this Episcopal Council, among these humble fishermen, with some of the discussions in the Puritan colony, the Hutchinson trial,

[1] *Samuel Small*, aged about 73 years, testified, 11 Nov., 1737, that he was "in his youth, a servant to Henry Joslin, Esq., then a magistrate in the eastern parts, and lived with said Joslin several years at Pemaquid." Com. Rep. Lincoln Co. 1811, p. 99.

[2] Probably this was the Thomas Gardner at Cape Anne in 1623. Hubbard, N. E. 106.

[3] Sullivan's Hist. of Dist. of Maine, 288. Williamson i. 423.

for instance; but the existence of this tribunal is the only evidence that the Pemaquiders ever fished in these muddy waters.

The Massachusetts, puritan, or republican influence was steadily progressing, and only a small minority of the inhabitants appeared to swear allegiance to the new authorities. There were none from Monhegan, and only four from Pemaquid; Henry Chamness, Edmund Arrowsmith, George Buckland, and last of all, "Mr. Thomas Elbridge."*

* "John Cock aged about Seventy Eight years declares and says that he was born at the Eastward parts of New England on the Eastern Side of Kennebeck River and lived there till he was driven away by the Indians about the year 1676 But while he lived there, he very well knew a man Called Mr Elbridge but does not well remember his Christian Name but he was a small man in Stature That sd Elbridge Lived at Pemmaquid & was Accounted one of the Princepall men in them Parts and that he has often Seen Sd Elbridge at his fathers house that he allso well remembers that Richard Paddishall who used the Coasting *trade had an Island on sd Kennebec River on which Island he lived for many years & his father before him which Island Was Called Paddishale's Island and that* he never heard Sd Paddishall Laid any Claim or Pretended any right to Damares Cove Island till Since the last Indian Warr. That he well remembers that one Trick one ——— Hunnewell one Soward & Richard Reading lived on Sd Damares Cove Island and had been old Settlers there & that, about Sixty years agoe the Declarant went a fishing from sd Island & well remembers that there were Seven fishing Boats that Continually used sd Place and that he never heard that any of the afores^d Persons ever pretended any right thereto but only Used it as a fishing Place which they Esteemed free for any Person That he never knew or heard that the afores^d Rich^d Paddenshall ever Lived on said Damare's Cove Island Butt he well remembers that Said Rich^d Paddeshall Carryed his family from sd Island in Kennebeck River to Pemmaquid where he was killed as he afterwards Heard Boston Sept 18 1736

his
JOHN ⋈ COCK
mark

Suffolk ss. Boston Sept^r 18 1736 John Cock appearing Made oath to the truth of the above Declaration by him Subscribed taken in Perpetuam rei memoriam Before Samuel Checkley Just Pacis
Wm. Tyler Quorum Unus

Unhappy man! where but a few years since he held the manorial court, he now survives bereft of all his honors, his lands alienated, and himself neglected even by the Royal Commissioners. Still the ruined man clung to the old ways, animated, perhaps, with the hope that each successive attempt to secure the royal mode would prevail. It was all in vain; and Thomas Elbridge lived long enough to sign with his fellows, a "Humble Request" to the Puritan Commonwealth, that they would "please so farr to favour us as to take us under your government and protection, that we all may have the Benefit of all those Laws settled amongst yourselves granted unto us."

The petition is of special value as a representation, by the people themselves, of their forlorn and helpless condition; the tone of the petition, and its not very cordial reception by Massachusetts, vindicate her from the common as well as very unjust charge of "usurpation" over Maine.

Historically the most important name in the list of Petitioners, is that of Mr. Elbridge, whose ingenuous yet humiliating confessions, reflecting on his own career and personal interests, give a peculiar force and credibility to the statements signed by him. Indeed, the declaration of the Royal Commissioners that this miserable collection of colonists "never had any government" is strengthened by the absence of any evidence of laws among them, or of their auxiliaries, schools and churches, or, with one or two exceptions, of even the rudest forms of primitive civil organization; helpless and demoralized under the steady policy and influences which had, for half a century, kept them a distinct people from the Puritans, and had been fatal to their manhood, these wretched planters, the forlorn hope of feudal and royal schemers, supplicate, in abject humility,

for "protection" under the laws and vigorous government of the Puritan Commonwealth. Two distinct social and political theories had been fairly tested under equal conditions of favor, and the full results appear in the ingenuous confessions of

THE HUMBLE REQUEST.

To the Honoured Governour, Deputy Governour, Majestrates & Deputies Assembled in the General Court now sitting in Boston this 18th day of May, 1672.

The petition of * * * * * several of the Inhabitants of the Eastern parts of New England vizt Kenebeck Cape Bonawagon Damares Cove Shipscoate Pemaquid & Monhegan.——

Humbly Sheweth that whereas the Providence of God hath stated our habitations into those parts wherein [1] *some times* past we have had *some kind* of Government settled amongst us; but *for these Several years have not had any at all* which is greatly to our Prejudice & damage having *no way to Right ourselves upon any Account whatsoever* & have little hopes of obtaining any to be helpfull to us for the good of our *Soles* unless we have Government *setled* amongst us; The *Humble Request* therefore *of your Petitioners is that you will please so farr to favour us as to take us under your Government and protection* that we may *all have the Benefit of all those Laws settled among yourselves granted unto us* which if this Honourable Court shall accept of & granted to us we have desired our loveing friend Mr Richard Collacott to advise with this honoured Court or committee wh they shall appoint for that purpose, & so to act in our behalf what shall be

Judged meet or conveinent for us whereby your Petitioners shall be ever Engaged to pray &c.

KENNEBEEK.

Richard Hamon,
Laurance Denie,
Silvanus Davis,
John Gutch,
Thomas Bowles,
Thomas Stephens,
Wm Beckford,
John Parker,
Ths. Parker,
The Lock,
Nathl. Harris,
Wm. Baker,
Robt. Edmans,
David Crocker,
Ambros Honywell,
John Lock,
Nichs. Peterson,
Edwd. Cole,
James Cole,
Alex Frizell,
Jno. Layton.

SHIPSCOATE.

Wm. Dyer,
Nathl. Draper,
Thos. Dwinthine,
Thos. Morrer,
Wm. Cole,
Saml. Coxbinson,
John Whyte,
Wm. Collecott,
Christo. Dyer,
Jno. Dyer,
Wm. James,
Ralph Andrews,
Thoms. Gimpse,
Philip Bendall,
Wm. Loveren,

CAPE BONAWAGON.

Robert Gamon,
John Nide [or Pride,]
Edwd. Barton,
Henry Walderne,
Steph. Woolfe,
Mathew Dyer,
Richd. Seeth,
Nicholas Bond,
Benja. Barton,
Jno. Anthers,
Aaron Beard,
Thos. Salton,
Wm. Dane,
Thos Haalfe,
Gabl. Skiner,
Robt. Baker,

PEMAQUID.

Thoms. Gardner,
Jer. Hodsdon,
Jno. Cole,
Jno. Hinks,
Alex. Gold,
Jno. Browne,
Wm. Phillips,
Thos. Harwood,
Tho . Elbridge,
Walter Phillips,
Jno. Taylor.

DAMARIS COVE.

Richard Honywell,
Jon^{a}. Allen,
Roger Seaward,
Jn^{o}. Wrieford,
Elias Trick,
Jn^{o}. Bedwell,
Rob^{t}. Parker,
Emanuel Whitehance,
Leonard Alber,
William Lee,
Sym^{n}. Lewsombe,
Nich^{o}. Oyand,
Rich^{d}. Friend,
Th^{s}. Alger,
Edm^{d}. Robins.

MONHEGAN.

Jn^{o}. Palmer,
Jn^{o}. Dollen,
Antho. Pedell,
Geo. Bickford,
Reynold Celer,
Jn^{o}. Dare,
Rich^{d}. Woorring,
Edw^{d}. Dary,
Tho^{s}. Flewen,
Rich^{d}. Boone,
Rich^{d}. Oliver,
Roger Willis,
Hen. Stokes,
W^{m}. Sanders,
Rob^{t}. Wittell,
Abr^{m}. Larkrow,
Abel Horkridg,
Peter Widgor.

These were the names of the Persons Subscribers of the several Papers sent to Rich^{d}. Collacott for Petition aforesaid.

In answer to this Petition the Committee understanding that the line being drawn since the Petitioners first made this Petition it takes in the most part near all the p'sons & places above mention'd do judge the Court may Grant the Petition* provided they pay all publick Charges especially with the rest of the inhabitants of this Colony

Edw^{d}. Tyng. George Curwin. Humphrey Davie.

The Deputies approve of the Return of the Committee in answer to this pet. so far as the proviso marked*, our hon^{ble} majestrates Consenting hereto. W^{m}. Torrey Cler. 28 May 1672. The majestrates Consent not hereto

Edward Rawson Sec'ry.

For the next few years, there is little of moment in the local events. The struggles for jurisdiction in the east waxed warmer between Massachusetts and the crown: the former had the advantage of popular favor; but this belongs rather to the general history of the State. The ever varying territorial names sufficiently indicate the fluctuating and uncertain tenure of authority. "The Duke of York's property," "The Territory of Sagadahock," "New Castle," "County of Cornwall," "Devonshire," appear in quick succession. The condition of the people was awful; the perils long ago noted by the forewarning voice of the venerable Bradford, were fast maturing: the French Jesuits had debauched the Indian mind, and a part of its religion was to extirpate the English; this, they were taught, was laying up treasures in heaven.

Jocelyn wrote in 1673 that he was a poor Indian that was not master of two guns with powder and shot, which they purchased of the French, and that they were generally excellent marksmen.[1] They also had a thorough knowledge of the vulnerable points in the English settlements. The frontiers were greatly alarmed, and in imminent danger during the Dutch war, in which France aided Holland, but an early peace delayed for a while the murderous attacks of the French and Indians. It was by the criminal conduct of the Stuarts,[2] that the French occupied a single

[1] Mass. H. C. xxiii. 309.

[2] "The French Colonies in Canada having great communications with the Indians who lay nearest to New England, used all means to distress those settlements: and it is certain that the French Councils at home had a great effect on the mind of Charles, and were a principal means of the impolitic discouragement which he now gave to his New England subjects." Modern Universal Hist. xxxix, p. 284.

foot of ground in Canada, but their evil genius still followed them, and in the treaty of Breda, July 31, 1667, the English colonies were completely hedged in, by the cession of Nova Scotia to the French, thus giving them the most important military posts on the coast, but, worst of all, strengthening the reverence of the natives for the apparent superiority of the French. If ever subjects had reason to curse the selfish recklessness of their King, they were the loyal and submissive people of the East. Charles Stuart did not only a public wrong in this, but he was guilty of dishonesty and meanness towards a subject; dishonest because the fee of the territory was in Sir Thomas Temple, and extorted by power, without compensation,[1] and mean, because the subject was without redress; an act which would place the subject in the penitentiary, and where, by the same reason, his "Majesty" ought to have been lodged.

[1] Williamson, i. 425, 428.

CHAPTER XII.

At the Council Table of Foreign Plantations—Independance of Massachusetts in 1671—Gorges—not safe to use force against Massachusetts—President Oakes' Political Sermon—Munjoy's Eastern Survey in 1671—Massachusetts initiates a Government at Pemaquid in 1674—Andros appointed Governor between the St. Croix and Pemaquid—Prelude of Indian hostilities—their origin—mutual distrust between English and Indians—the suffering of the poor savages—August, 1676, Casco, Pemaquid, New Harbor, Arrowsick destroyed—Thomas Lake and his family.

The diary of John Evelyn gives us a most interesting view of our affairs at this date, and admits us to the secret consultations at the table of the Council of Foreign Plantations. The latest maps of New England were open before them. At the sitting, March 26th, 1671, "what we most insisted on," says Evelyn," was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England, or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were; there were great debates in what style to write to them, for the condition of that Colony was such, that they were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was *fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation;* his Majesty, therefore commended this affair more expressly. We, therefore, thought fit, in the first place, to acquaint ourselves as well as we could of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence, and to be informed of their present pos-

ture and condition; some of our Council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that Colony, were utterly against." Two months passed, and June 6th Evelyn enters in his journal, "I went to Council, where was produced a most exact and ample information . . . . . of the best expedients as to New England, on which there was a long debate; but at length it was concluded that, *if any*, it should be only a conciliatory paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of the present face of things, since we understood they were a *people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the crown.*" Such was the trepidation excited by New England, in the Council Chamber, more than a century before the separation. June 21st, "To Council again, when one Colonel Cartwright, a Nottinghamshire man, (formerly in commission with Colonel Nicholls,) gave us a considerable relation of that country; on which the Council concluded that in the first place a letter of amnesty should be dispatched." July 4th, "To Council, where we drew up and agreed to a letter to be sent to New England, and made some proposal to Mr. Gorges, for his interest in a plantation there." August 3d, "A full appearance at the Council. The matter in debate was, whether we should send a Deputy to New England, requiring them of the Massachusetts to restore such to their limits and respective possessions, as had petitioned the Council; this to be the open commission only; but, in truth with secret instructions to inform us of the condition of those Colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Majesty, and declare for themselves as independent of the Crown, which we were told, and which of late years made them refractory. Colonel

Middleton being called in, assured us they might be curbed by a few of his Majesty's first-rate frigates, to spoil their trade with the islands; but, though my Lord President was not satisfied, the rest were, and we did resolve to advise his Majesty to send Commissioners with a formal commission for adjusting boundaries, &c., with some other instructions." [1]

Contrast with this spirit of fear, the temper of President Oakes' Election discourse, of about the same time; a specimen of the political sermons of the Fathers of New England. "Keep to your patent, your patent was a royal grant indeed; and it is instrumentally your defence and security. . . . . Fix upon the patent and stand for the liberties and immunities conferred upon you therein, and you have GOD and the King with you, both a good cause and a good interest; and may with good conscience set your foot against any foot of pride and violence that shall come against you." [2] While the Council at Whitehall were fearful, and hesitating, Massachusetts proceeded with firmness in her rights. Under an act of May, 1671, George Munjoy of Falmouth ascertained by actual survey that Pemaquid and Monhegan, and other settlements were within her charter limits, and reported that "all the inhabitants East along, seemed much to desire" their government. This report was made in May of the year 1672. In the spring of the next year, the "Gents," "inhabitants of Pemaquid," were surprised by a letter from their "very affectionate friend," Lovelace[4] of New York, deprecating censure for the Duke's

[1] Diary and Correspondence, Lond. 1854, ii. 59, 60, 61.

[2] Belknap's N. H. Farmer's Ed. 63.*

[3] Mass. Col. Rec. Vol. iv. p. ii. 487, 519.

[4] Albany papers, 6, 7, 8.

total neglect of them for eight long years, and asking them what government would most conduce to their happiness and increase, and offering to invest them with ample power in both "Ecclesiastick and civil affayres." The solicitude of the Royal commissioners, seven years before, and now of Lovelace, in respect to Church affairs among the Pemaquiders, indicates perhaps, some internal commotion, in this highly respectable branch of the Anglican Catholic Church, but the records are silent on these exciting difficulties. Indeed, there is not a word about preacher, or pulpit, priest or prayer, among these sons and daughters of the Church Apostolic, at Pemaquid, or its vicinity, from the days of Popham until now, a most painful hiatus in the history of Episcopacy in these parts. This benevolent design was frustrated by the Dutch, who captured New York, in the next July, and the pious Lovelace fled [4] to England. Again the Pemaquiders were without a shepherd. As abundant evidence of the popular wish and favor towards Massachusetts accumulated, the Puritan Commonwealth yielded to their prayers, and under her authority a Court was held at Pemaquid on the 22d of July, 1674, the Commission for which, and the report of the proceedings under it, are found in the Colony Records.[5] This peaceful revolution, in the political condition of Eastern Maine, from dependence, on Manorial Lords and the beggarly experience of the Dukedom, to a union with their republican neighbors and the choice of magistrates by themselves, and from among their own numbers, marks an important epoch in her history, and one of much significance, if we are wise enough to learn a lesson from so humble a history.

[4] Doc. Col. Hist. New York iii. 205.

[5] M. C. Rec. V. 17–19. Present state of New England. Hubbard, Lond. 1677, p. 3.

THE COMMISSION.

{ L. S. } Att a General Court, held at Boston, 27th day of May 1674. In pursuance of an order at the Generall Court in Oct. 1673, it is ordered Major Thomas Clarke, Mr. Humphrey Davy, Mr. Richard Collecott, and Lieut. Thos. Gardiner, or any three of them, whereof Major Thomas Clark to be one, are fully hereby empowred to repaire to Pemaquid, Capenwaghen, Kennebec, &c. or some one of them, to the eastward. . . . . to keep a County Court, to give oaths to the constables there appointed, and to appoint meet persons, inhabitants there to offices and places within our patent, according to God, and the wholesome laws of this Jurisdiction, that the way of Godliness may be encouraged, and Vice corrected. . . . to appoint Commissioners Courts for the ending of small causes, which Commissioners shall have magistratical powers in marrying such as are duly and legally published according to law, as also to punish criminal offences . . . . . to settle the militia, &c.

The commission being read to the inhabitants, and [1] many of them desiring it, the territory within the northern line of the patent, eastward from the Kennebeck was called the county of DEVON, of which Lieut. Thomas Gardner of Pemaquid was appointed Treasurer, and chief of the military forces. Richard Oliver of Monhegin was made Clerk of the County Courts; Constables, Clerks of the writs and the officers provided for by law took their oaths of office. Twenty pounds were levied for court charges, law books, constable's staves, &c. The distribution of this tax indicates the relative importance of the plantations at this date; to "Saggerdehoc" and Kennebeck four pounds, Monhegan five

[1] Doubtless "many of them" were from Devonshire, England, and sought to keep alive the memories of home in the new "Devon."

pounds and ten shillings, Capenawaggen three pounds, ten shillings, Damerills Cove and Hyppocrass [1] five pounds, and Pemaquid, only forty shillings; from this it appears that Monhegan had regained her primitive importance, since the depression of trade, and the return to the fisheries.

Thus, for the first time, there was an attempt to regulate the community by laws and magistrates, backed by an authority capable of enforcing them, and possessing the confidence of the colonists.

On the first of July, 1674, Major Edmund Andros was commissioned Governor of the territory between the St. Croix and Pemaquid.[2] This did not disturb Massachusetts, and in May, 1675, she appointed Capt. Thomas Lake and others, to hold the courts in "Devonshire," as usual, and again, in 1676, May 5th, they were commissioned to the same duty.[3]

But tragic and fearful events were now rapidly approaching; the gathering cloud hushed every thought but that of personal safety; at first, mere whisperings of danger startled the defenceless planter; the unwonted smiles and silence of the natives were of portentous meaning; but ere thought had become action, escape was too late, and every settlement, yesterday in security and peace, was now laid waste by indiscriminate slaughter; a thrill of horror, of awful fear, a faintness, swept over the heart of New England, as if the heathen[4] had God's commission against them, robbing them of their children, destroying their cattle, making them few in number, and their highways desolate.

[1] *Hypocrits*, a locality in Booth-Bay Harbor. *Rev. R. K. Sewall.*

[2] Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. iii. 215.

[3] Mass. Col. Rec. V. 30, 87.

[4] Hutchinson Papers, 491.

Various were the causes assigned for this war; some attributed it to an imprudent zeal in christianizing the Indians, but certainly this was not true of Maine; some, to vagrant Jesuits, who had for years gone from Sachem to Sachem, to exasperate the Indian against the English, and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America.[1] This is in harmony with all history, and doubly confirmed by the fact that the eastern tribes were always in alliance with the French, who, be it ever remembered, were here solely by the will of the mercenary Stuarts, and against the will of the people. On their memory rests this stain of blood and crime.

There had been jealousies of the eastern Indians, twelve or thirteen years before, but they had faded away; indeed, for the space of above fifty years, harmony had existed between them and the eastern colonists. Henry Sawyer of York sent the first news of the Indian troubles about Plymouth, to the Kennebeck, on the eleventh of July, 1675. In the Spring of 1676, one Laughton, from Piscataqua, or that vicinity, enticed some Indians about Cape Sable aboard his vessel, and sold them into slavery. This was charged by the Indians to the inhabitants of Pemaquid, as one of the principal grounds of their quarrel, but without reason, because Mr. John Earthy, one of the principal men of Pemaquid, had warned the natives of the report of Laughton's wicked designs.[2] Mr. Earthy, a gentleman of prudence,

[1] Hutchinson Papers, 490, 491. Doc. in Col. Hist., New York, iii. 240—244. Hubbard's narrative, London, 1677, 11, 13, 30.

[2] Hubbard's narrative, 30, 36, 37.

moderation, and courage, might, perhaps, have been successful in his negotiations[1] with the natives, but for the violence and indiscretion of the timid. Hubbard says that "those who were so violent against the Indians in their discourse, would not be persuaded upon any terms, then, or afterwards, to go out to fight against the Indians in an orderly way; as appeared both by their security in not standing better upon their guard, and by their sudden flight afterward, running away like a flock of sheep at the barking of any little dog."[2]

There were two sides in this quarrel, and Hubbard himself, who seems to intend an impartial narrative, says there were "different opinions about it."

After Mr. Earthy of Pemaquid had made peace with the Sachems, at Totonnock, Madockewando, the Chief, "asked what they should do for powder and shot, when they had eaten up their Indian corn; what they should do for the winter, for their hunting voyages; asking withall, whether the English would have them dy, or leave their country, and go all over to the French?" This was a question to be asked. Since King Philip's troubles, it was forbidden to sell ammunition to the Indians on the ground that they would use it against the English; on the other hand they often complained to the Pemaquid authorities of the injury they suffered, from want of powder and shot to kill venison and fowl, for want of which many of them had died the previous winter, "adding withall," says Hubbard, "that if the English were their friends, as they pretended, they would not suffer them to dy for want thereof," promising to keep true friendship, and to hinder their bitterest enemies,

[1] Hubbard's narrative, 35—39.

[2] Hubbard, 36.

the Amonoscoggan Indians, from troubling them, if by any means they could." The planters replied, "if we sell you powder, and you give it to the western men, many of whom, you say, would not have peace, what do we but cut our own throats?"

Both sides are entitled to commiseration, and not to our censure. The direct guilt rested on the fiends, Laughton and Hunt, the evil genii of both the red and the white man; they had rum in those days.

News of the violence at Casco reached the Kennebec, and the next two days, August thirteenth and fourteenth, 1676, witnessed the destruction of the English settlements in "Devonshire County;"—Pemaquid, New Harbor, Corbins' Sound, and Windgin's were all seen on fire within the same two [1] hours."

The most conspicuous victim,[2] in property, position, and character, was Captain Thomas Lake, one of the most eminent merchants of Boston, and a gentleman of distinguished worth and usefulness. The Indians intended to save him, but in his flight from his fort at Arrowsick, he was shot. His father was Richard Lake of Erby in Lincolnshire. By his wife Mary, daughter of Stephen Goodyear, Deputy Governor of New Haven Colony from 1640 to 1650, he had several children, one of whom, Anne, was the wife of the Rev. John Cotton of Hampton, and upon his death, of the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather.[3] Thomas, another child, became a respectable barrister in London, and took

[1] Hubbard's narrative.

[2] Hubbard, 2, 13, 14, 35, 38, 41—43, 72. Williamson, i. 536.

[3] From the writer's family papers. See also appendix to Richard Mather's Journal, Clapp's edition, Boston, 1850, pp. 97—106. Hubbard's Narrative, Ind. wars.; Mathers Ind. wars.; Bridgman's Copps' Hill Epitaphs. Boston. Betham's Baronetage.

the property of his father's brother, Sir Edward Lake, L. L. D., Baronet, Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln. The Barrister's son was the Sir Bibye Lake, who afterwards claimed, under his grandfather's title, on the Kennebeck. The present Baronet, his descendant, has won honorable distinction in the British service in the Crimea.

CHAPTER XIII.

Relief for the East—Contrast between the policy of Andros and that of the Puritans—the refugees—Randolph's account—the French—Major General Dennison and forces ordered to Maine—Andros' complicity with the Indians and French in the wars of 1676, 1677—the falsity of his reports to the Council—Pemaquid re-fortified—the Ducal government at Pemaquid—revenue orders—Exclusion of traders from Massachusetts—Courts organized—Pemaquid police—taverns licensed—Indians regulated—religious services—coasting licenses—map of Pemaquid in 1677.

The action of Andros, the Duke's governor, and of Massachusetts, after these disasters, was characteristic.—Though the Puritans had been deeply involved in the expense of life and money already consequent upon Philip's war, they promptly raised an efficient force, well furnished, in suitable vessels, to recover the East. Most of those men that fled from the deserted places at the eastward were pressed into this service. Andros' only care was that those who had escaped should not remain in Massachusetts but come to New York. His littleness and inefficiency appear in humiliating contrast with the humanity and energy of the Puritans. We cannot do better than quote the words of the record of Oct. twelfth, 1676:

"In answer to a motion made by the Governor of New Yorke, who *hath sent his sloope* to transport sundry of the inhabitants that are fled to these townes from the merciless cruelty of the enemy in the easterne parts, this Court doth

declare, that as they may not justify the act of sundry of the abovesaid inhabitants, who have, in a very dishonorable manner, forsaken those places that might, with meet care, have been kept out of the enemies hands, so they cannot countenance or incourage the motion made by the governor of Yorke, the tendency thereof being apparently for the damage of his Majestie's interest in those parts, and quitting the same to be a prey, not only to the Indians, but also to the French,[1] who are said by themselves to be their abettors[2] in the depopulation there made, but doe judge it farr more conducible to his majestie's interest that with one shoulder all his majestie's subjects in these plantations doe joyne in driving the enemy thence, and for that end that all meete endevors be used to engage the Mohawks, or other

[1] "The French have held a civil correspondence with the inhabitants of Hampshire, Main, and the Duke's Province, although the government of Boston, upon all occations is imposing upon the French, and encouraging an interloping trade, which causeth jealousies and fears in the inhabitants bordering upon Acadaie, that the French will sometime or other, suddainly fall upon them to the breach of the national peace. The government of the Massachusetts hath a perfect hatred of the French, because of their too near neighborhood and loss of their trade, and look upon them with an evil eye, believing that they have had a hand in the late wars with the Indians." *Randolph's Report in Hutchinson's papers and N. Y. Col. Doc., iii.* 241.

[2] Randolph said, "Some impute the present Indian war" "to an imprudent zeal in the magistrates of Boston to christianize those heathen, before they were civilized:" "some believe that there have been vagrant and jesuitical priests who have made it their business and designe for some years past to goe from Sachem to Sachem, to exasperate the Indians against the English and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of America." N. Y. Col. Doc. iii. 242. Hutchinson's Mass. i. 490. Trumbull's Connecticut, 367.

Indians, friends to the English, for their help and assistance therein." They also "ordered away with all speede one hundred and forty men, with provisions, ammunition and clothes, to Captain Hathorne, for the security of what is remaining in Yorkshire, and if possible to annoy the enemy in their quarters." Dennison, the Major General was appointed to command the forces raised "against the incursions of the common enemy in those eastern [1] plantations.

James Stuart was on good terms with the French; Charles Stuart was immersed in the grossest sensualism; and what did "Royal Highness" or "Majesty" care for eastern lands or fishermen, *provided* Puritan Massachusetts did not get them? We must thank the old Bay State, under God, that Maine was not left to Canada, and that, at this moment, her inhabitants are not "subjects," but American citizens.

Piqued by this deserved rebuke, Andros vented his spleen against Massachusetts by complaints to the Council. These papers, in the British archives, have been published in the New York Documents, and seem wholly to change the face of received history on some of the points involved. They were written by Andros himself, and prove him guilty of the meanest of all vices.

Andros was much annoyed by the printed declaration of war which had been issued by Massachusetts in the beginning of the winter of 1675, stating that Philip and the hostile Indians had received the muniments of war from Albany, a fact obtained from captive Indians, or English, escaped from Andros'[2] government. He discovered great sensitiveness in regard to this war, and labored to criminate Massachu-

[1] Mass. Col. Rec. V. 123, 124, Oct. 12, 1676.

[2] N. Y. Col. Rec. iii. 258, 266.

setts and exonerate himself. Fortunately he made several reports, at different times, and their various discrepancies are fatal to his honor.

In November, 1677, he sent to the Council "a short account" of his administration, in which he dates the sending of the Duke's sloop to convey the Pemaquid refugees to New York, as having been done in December, but the Massachusetts' record proves that it was on the 12th of October preceding, and, at the same time, they had suggested the enlistment of Mohawks, a proposition originating with them, and not with Andros; yet did Andros affirm to the Council that he had offered the aid of the Mohawks to Massachusetts, and that she had refused them! and Randolph repeated the falsehood at length.

Again, in November, 1677, he reported to the Council that "the Eastern parts were wholly *deserted* by the Indians, and neglected" by Massachusetts, yet in the next April he represented to "Majesty" his "*subjection* of the Eastward Indians at the very great charge and expense of 'Royal Highness:'" at the same time he renews his dolorous complaints that Massachusetts did not retract her charge that Albany supplied the Indians with munitions of war, "but doo still continue and allow the said printed Declaration and Books which are dayly sold in their Colony."[1] Massachusetts refused to retract what she believed to be true, and the total disregard of truth in Andros' representations to "Majesty," confirm the charges against him. There is no doubt that Edmund Andros winked at the beginning of King's Philip's terrible career, that he abandoned the Duke's Eastern territory and settlements, that Massachusetts was at first alone in aiding the

[1] Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. iii. 256—259, 266, 242.

Maine frontiers, and that when the country was, as he himself reported, "wholly deserted by the Indians," this Munchausen again took possession. This was in June, 1677. They loaded four sloops with heavy timber, to fortify [1] Pemaquid. The fort was a redout with two guns aloft, and an outwork about nine feet high, with two bastions in the opposite angles in each of which were two great guns, and another at the gateway. There were fifty soldiers with sufficient ammunition, stores of war, and spare arms, and provisions for about eight months. "Royall Highness' sloop with four guns, was appointed to guard the coast and fisheries. [2] The enterprise was conducted by Lieut. Anthony Brockles, Ensign Cæsar Knapton, and Mr. M. Nicolls, under instructions of June 13th. [3] They were directed to send one of the sloops, with letters to Mr. Henry Joselin, Rev. Robert Jordan, and Major Nicholas Shapleigh, inviting them to settle at Pemaquid. If Mr. Joselin was willing to stay there, they were to deliver to him his commission as a magistrate, and to advise with him in all matters of consequence, particularly about the Indians. [4] Andros endeavored to create a monopoly of fishing on the Duke's coasts, and established a custom house at Pemaquid, with a view to exclude Massachusetts from any further interference [5] there.

They soon made peace with the Indians, in which Massachusetts was included, and thirty-five or forty captives and

[1] Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. iii. 260, "a tract beyond Kennebec River called Pemaqui.d"

[2] *Ibid*, 248, 256.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc. iii. 248, where their instructions are given in full.

[4] *Ibid*, 249.

[5] *Ibid*, iii. 256. Mass. C. R., V. 162, 164.

several vessels were restored by the natives.[1] Mr. William Bowditch, Collector oft he Port of Salem, ancestor of the illustrious mathematician and astronomer, Nathaniel Bowditch,[2] was an owner of these vessels; after tedious negotiations and journeys he obtained his property. The correspondence indicates no great cordiality between Andros and the Massachusetts authorities[3] and people. Stringent directions were given to the commander and magistrates at Pemaquid, for safety against the Indians, regulating trade and fisheries, excluding all intruders on pain of seizure, prevention of fraud and intemperance, promotion of amity between the fishermen and planters, confining trade at or near to the fort, and authorizing civil and criminal trials, New York being the appellate court in cases of moment. Andros was determined to exclude all Massachusetts people from the territory. All trade was confined to a single broad street, protected by the fort; the dwellings to open only on this avenue, and business to be done "between sun and sun, for which the drum to beate or bell ring, every morning and evening and neither Indyan nor Christian to drink any strong drink, or lye ashore, in the night, on the point where the fort stood." The interior arrangements of the fort to be kept absolutely secret from all but the garrison forces. These regulations were to be extended "as farr westward as Blackpoint," and magistrates were commissioned to enforce them.[4] The militia were to

[1] N. Y. Col. Rec. iii. 256, 265. Mass. C. R., V. 162, 164. Albany papers, 9, 15, 23.

[2] Memoirs of Nathaniel Bowditch, by his son N. Ingersoll Bowditch, Esq., prefixed to the 4th volume of the *Mécanique Céleste*, pages 9, 16.

[3] *Ibid*, 254, Mass. C. R., V. 165—167

[4] Albany papers.

be kept in good order and discipline, the public revenue of the customs and excise due to "Royall Highness in Pemaquid and its dependancies," to be collected by officers appointed to that service.

Efficient measures were adopted for the settlement of Pemaquid, "the extreme parts of his Riall Hiness territory Betwene the River Kenybcke and St. Croix" Taverns were opened at every fishing station, only one dog was allowed to a family, all planters and fishermen were to have arms and ammunition, to trade with the Indians only at Merrymeeting and at Pemaquid;[1] "no stragling farmes to be erected, and no houses built any where under the number of thirty;" and for the promoting of piety, prayers and the Holy Scriptures were to be read by a person

[1] Hubbard's map of New England, the first engraved here, and published in 1677, affords curious evidence of the relative importance of Pemaquid at that period. As to its fidelity to the coast of Maine, we might well date it back to the time when Delian tells us the artists were obliged to write above their productions, "this is a Tree," "this is a horse," &c.; but the familiar names, Portsmouth, Winter Harbor, Casco Bay, Kennebec, Pemaquid declare the country.

Evidently the map was drawn on the inductive method, for the projector fancied that there must be some relation or proportion, between the physical and the commercial or political features of a place. And so he pictured Pemaquid many times beyond its true area, and reaching far out into the Atlantic, almost ready to greet Cape Cod.

This great geographical blunder merely signifies that Pemaquid was, at the time, the foremost settlement in Maine, and thus the very defects of the map constitute it a fair historical index of the relative importance of the principal settlements. It is prefixed to Hubbard's "Present State," and bears this apology: "being the first that ever was here cut and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact, yet doth it sufficiently show the Situation of the country and conveniently well the distance of places."

"appointed for the purpose." For further encouragement of planters, they were exempted from arrest for debt, for seven years, and all persons not under the government of "Royall Highness" were obliged to obtain a license, at a cost of "four kentalls merchantable fish for a decked vessell, and two kentalls for an open boate."

CHAPTER XIV.

'Riall Hiness" is "altogether arbitrary"—Gyles Goddard chosen representative to Albany—revolt—refugees return from Massachusetts—insubordination—James II.'s accession to the crown—Andros Governor of New England, Sept. 1686—the Duke's Eastern possessions annexed to Massachusetts—Thomas Gyles, Esq.—rascality of Palmer and Weston—Louis XIV., and not James II., was the real sovereign—an "absolute government" designed for New England—in 1688 Andros visits Pemaquid—robs Castine's fort—intrigues with the French Indians—his singular conduct and its meaning.

The inhabitants and fishermen of Pemaquid cared no more for "Riall Hiness," than did their fathers for Royal patents. At last these Pemaquiders, eighteen of them, in the year 1683, said to "Riall Hiness," in tolerably plain English, that they did not like his laws, or his governors, and that they would like to "bee a member of that Boody," at the other end of "Royall Hiness territory," and try to govern themselves. They very distinctly said that "Riall Hiness" was "allto gether arbytrary," that "Grand abusses and Villifying Lang^e were not to be endured any longer," and that his laws and officers were as bad as they could be. This serious remonstrance from the next door neighbors of the impracticable Puritans, was not ineffectual; they "met and chose one Representative" of "the freeholders of Pemaquid and Dependancies," to go to New York. Mr. Gyles Goddard was the man; he carried two petitions

from the people, but they were returned to him, with an order to wait the governor's leisure to visit Pemaquid. This is the whole record of Mr. Giles Goddard's parliamentary life. To induce people to immigrate to Pemaquid, large grants of land were made, with a recklessness that led to endless "disorders and confusions." They first made grants, and then sent a surveyor to locate the territory, if it could be found.

The revenue officers and coast guards were ineffectual against the illicit trade, and the intruders, from the Puritan colonies. They complained that Capt. Elisha [1] Hutchinson of Boston, and several others, "gave out seveare Threttenings," and claimed title to the lands under "old morgages y^t were made before the warrs w^th y^e heathens." They were also annoyed by "one Nicholas Manning, Capt: of a company that is very Troublesome," and "who makes Parties and Divisions amongst vs," which "wee feare will grow worse." Many of these wretched and helpless colonists were sent hither by Andros, from New York, probably as more plastic materials for "the great Turke" government which might be established; some were the old planters, returned to their possessions, after a temporary refuge in the shore towns of Massachusetts; they were remote from New York, and the Ducal government was feeble and inefficient; they had neither the intelligence nor the spirit to take care of themselves, and would welcome any Power that would relieve them from the miseries of anarchy, and political imbecility.

His "Riall Hiness" became his "Majesty" James II., and his province reverted to the Crown; he appointed the detested Andros "Governor of New England," and on the

[1] Pemaquid Papers, p. 99. Hutchinson's Papers, 561—565.

nineteenth day of September, 1686, ordered that the fort and country of Pemaquid, with the great guns, ammunition and other stores of war, should be transferred to the government of New England.[1] Thus was dissolved an unnatural and inconvenient political relation between the remote territory of New York and Pemaquid, made by Stuart, regardless of the welfare[2] of the people, and merely for the personal interest of his brother James. But this Royal bigot intended no benefit to Massachusetts, or to "Pemaquid and its dependencies." The promotion of Andros to the government of Massachusetts gratified his master's bitter personal hatred to the Puritans; in spirit and motive it was precisely akin to the commission of the distinguished general and terrible scoundrel, Claverhouse, over the Scotch.

Dongan had represented that Pemaquid was of no advantage to the Dukedom, was four hundred miles distant, that there were always at the fort the officers and twenty men in full pay, as useless expense, and suggested its annexation to Boston, as valuable to them for its fisheries.[3]

Thomas Gyles, Esq., driven from Merrymeeting Bay by the late war, and finding that "plantations were going on at Pemaquid, bought several tracts of land there," and was appointed Chief Justice "of the County of Cornwall," erected by Gov. Dongan. He complained of "the immoralities of a people who had long lived lawless."[4] The fort

[1] The details of these general statements may be found in the Albany Pemaquid Papers.

[2] Hutchinson Papers, 489. The same recklessness marked the alienation of Acadia to the French.

[3] Doc. Col. Hist. Rec. iii. 391.

[4] Gyles' narrative in Drake's "Tragedies of the Wilderness," 1846, 74.

was in ruins, and the unfortunate planters were oppressed by the villainy of Palmer and West, in enforcing new land titles.[1] The Council, in July, 1687, Andros presiding, ordered that the Court for "the County of Cornwall" should include the inhabitants on the western banks of the Kennebeck; while they had jurisdiction in all matters of life and liberty, "noe title of land"[2] could be there mooted, but was referred to the rapacious scrutiny of Andros and his creatures at Boston.

In this rapid survey, much has been necessarily omitted which will richly reward the attention of the historian of Pemaquid. From this date she is found in a more natural alliance with the Puritan Commonwealth, though the government expenses of the East far exceeded the taxation levied upon them. Charles and James Stuart's plot to subvert the Constitution, to introduce Papacy into England, and their ignoble relations with France, and James' consequent expulsion, had a direct bearing on the affairs of Pemaquid. He was "capable of committing any crime." Louis[3] XIV. governed New England as really as he ruled over Canada, and the Ducal proprietor of Pemaquid, and Barillon, the French minister, were his agents. Barillon had sent to France a minute account of the Duke's plans for "an absolute government" in New England, and of the opposition of Halifax. The King replied from Versailles on December 13th, 1684, that "The reasoning of Lord Halifax upon the mode of governing New England ill entitled him to the confidence which the King reposed in him;

[1] Hutchinson papers, 561—565. Palmer was afterward appointed Chief Justice! Hutch. Hist. i. 331, note.

[2] Council Records, July 27th, 1687.

[3] Hume's Eng. ch. LXX.

and I am not surprised to learn that the Duke of York has particularly directed the attention of the King his brother to their consequences."[1]

From the revolution of 1688, our French neighbors hated us more cordially than ever, and their revenge was satiated by the terrible sufferings inflicted by them and their Indian allies,[2] on our Eastern frontiers.

In the summer of 1688, Andros and Randolph went on a pleasure excursion to the East; "by easy motions they got to Pemaquid where they stayed three or four days to refresh themselves with sheep and soules;" they thought that as Pemaquid would "in time be a very good place, being the only good porte for all vessels eastward, to ride well and secure from danger, the fort should be well repaired." James Stuart, Dongan, and Andros were alike, but the last two fell out, and the wicked Randolph, "a bird of their own feather," lets out a few words of truth. He wrote, the colonists "have been squeezed dry by Colonel Dongan, and his agents West and Graham;" and . . . . "there is no good understanding betwixt Col. Dongan and Sir Edmund, and 'twas not well done of Palmer and [3] West to tear all in pieces that was settled and granted at Pemmaquid by Sir Edmund; that was the scene where they placed and displaced, at pleasure, and were as arbitrary as the great Turke; some of the first settlers of that eastern country were denyed grants of their own lands, whilst

[1] These letters are most important documents in New England History.

[2] Douglas' Summary, i. 190. Magnalia, ii. 524.

[3] These legal rascals "produced to the planters a commission from Col. Dongan to dispose of all their lands to whoever would take leases at 5s the hundred acres quit rent!" Randolph's letter. Hutch. papers, 561—565. Magnalia ii. 510.

these men have given the improved lands amongst themselves," eight or ten thousand acres to each.[1] Andros signalized the expedition by robbing Castine's fort, and thus provoking another war.[2] His complicity in the hostilities of the noble King Philip has been referred to, but the villainy of this man is again exhibited at Pemaquid, in the year 1688, while doing the will of his master, the same who commissioned a Jeffreys, and delighted in his cruelties. The evidence is direct and complete. Lenox Beverly and Gabriel Wood testified that Andros entertained two squaws, Madockawando's sister and Moxies' wife, in the fort, at Pemaquid, several days; and that when they and other women left the fort "half drunk," two files of soldiers were appointed for their safe conduct to New Harbor, two miles east of Pemaquid, on the other shore; that these women were supplied with ammunition, powder and bullets, which they saw in the several baskets, and which the squaws said they had from Andros, and that they were to have more. The Indians also testified[3] that it was well understood among them that Andros was their friend, and tampered with them against the English, of whom he was then the Governor. This is in exact parallel to the conduct of the Stuarts in their intrigues with Louis XIV.

We have detected him not only in falsehood, in reporting to the Council in 1677 that he had offered to procure the alliance of the Mohawks, but in the meanness of filching to

[1] Randolph's letter, Boston, June 21, 1688.

[2] Mather's Magnalia, ii. 508. Hutch. papers, 562, 563. Dr. Belknap, (Hist. of New Hampshire, ch. x.), says this war "was really kindled by the rashness of the same persons who were making havock of the liberties" of New England.

[3] Rev. in N. E. Justified—Ed. 1691.

his own credit, the merit of the suggestion which distinctly originated with Massachusetts; and now, when he is Governor of New England, and we are again in hostilities with the Indians, it is this same Andros who influences the Mohawks to make peace with the French. Faithful to his master, he sought the interests of France, not of his ow country, traitorously using his official influence against the very people whom he governed. He ordered the inhabitants in Maine to desist from fortifying and garrisoning their houses, leaving them defenceless. To complete his treason, about the beginning of winter he marched a force of about a thousand men to Pemaquid, some of the principal officers being Papists, where, it is said, that the New England soldiers who died from the extreme hardship, and exposure of the winter service, outnumbered all the Indians at that time in hostility.[1] Not one Indian was killed. Andros knew,[2] and the people told him, that it was in vain to prosecute a war, at this season, which might have been effectually done the past summer. It was at this time that he enjoyed the companionship of the Indian squaws, and supplied them with ammunition. These are well authenticated facts.[3]

[1] Andros' report of this expedition is in Doc. Col. Hist. New York, iii. 723.

[2] Williamson i. 590. This author's apologies for Andros are inconsistent with the facts and the spirit of his administration. Book VII., Articles 1, 2, 3: also Vol. i. p. 162, 163, 164, of Mather's Magnalia, leave no doubt of Andros' rascality and inhumanity in this part of his administration in New England.

[3] This and abundant evidence of the same tenor is preserved in the pamphlet of 1691 entitled "The Revolution in New England Justified." Hutch. Hist. i. 330, 331. Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. iii. 581.

CHAPTER XV.

The treachery of Andros—its effects on the soldiery—desertion at Pemaquid—the Jesuit Thury—Indian crusade against the English heretics—Frontenac's reply to Phipps—its significance—Andros' reports—his mendacity and cunning—the true state of the case—Andros deposed and imprisoned—exposure of his villainy—the provisional government—its energy—recruits for Pemaquid—the colonists quit the East—statistical committee—guns and ammunition at Pemaquid—attempted alliance with the Maquas.

The treachery of Andros was so ill concealed, that the whole country was rife with rumors of disaster and coming war, and the soldiers sent to Pemaquid were persuaded that he designed rather to sacrifice them to the French and Indians, than to defend the colonists. Andros hastened from Pemaquid to Boston upon hearing the tidings of revolutionary tendencies in England, and the troops left without discipline, and without faith in the honor of their chief, deserted their posts[2] at the same time, leaving the inhabitants without protection. Fort Charles and Jamestown, (so Andros designated the Pemaquid fort and settlement,) were laid waste in August, 1689. Lahontan says that the garrison made a brave defence, but there being great quan-

[1] The design of this paper compels us to omit the details of this war, but they will form chapters of intense interest in the enlarged and minute history of Pemaquid now in hand by her accomplished son, Professor Johnston.

[2] Magnalia, Book VII. art. 3, 4.

tities of grenadoes and other fireworks thrown in upon them, while the savages (contrary to their custom,) scaled the palisadoes on all hands, the Governor was obliged to surrender upon discretion. Without the assistance of the savages, the fort could not have been taken, though it was a frail structure.[1] The best of his men being killed and himself wounded, Captain Weems capitulated on the second day, and carrying off the few remaining people in Mr. Pateshall's sloop, left Pemaquid and its dependency to the enemy. This disaster but completed the long cherished purpose of Charles and James Stuart, the vile stipendiaries of Louis XIV. Charlevoix states that the Indians, avowed friends of the French, who broke up the fort at Pemaquid were Penobscots, among whom a Jesuit, named M. Thury, a good laborer in the faith, had a numerous mission. It was to the Indians, simply a crusade against heretics. The same author tells us that "the first attention before setting out of these brave christians was to secure aid of the God of battles, by confessions and the sacrament; and they took care that their wives and children performed the same rites, and raised their pure hands to heaven, while their fathers and mothers went out to battle against the heretics."[2] To exclude all doubt as to the correctness of these views, we quote from Sir William Phipps' summons to Count Frontenac to surrender, in the Canada expedition of 1690: "The wars between the two crowns of England and France, doth not only sufficiently warrant, but the destruction made by the French and Indians under your command

[1] "Travels in Canada," letter XIX.

[2] Quoted in note to Gyles' "Memoirs," republished in Drake's "Tragedies of the Wilderness," 1846, pp. 73—109: see also Bradstreet's letter, Doc. Col. Hist. N. York, iii. 770. Randolph's letter, *ibid*, 580.

and encouragement, upon the persons and estates of their Majesties subjects of New England, without provocation on their part, hath put them under the necessity of this Expedition for their own security and satisfaction, and the cruelties and barbarities used against them, by the French and Indians, might upon the present opportunity prompt unto a severe revenge." Count Frontenac's answer is a condensed history of the Stuart policy and hypocrisy, which caused the revolutions in Old and New England and a complete vindication of both. It was "that Sir William Phipps and those with him, were *heretics* and traitors to their King, and had taken up with that Usurper, the Prince of Orange, and had made *a revolution, which, if it had not been made, New England and the French had been all one*[1]; and that no other answer was to be expected from him, but what should be from the mouth of his[2] cannon." Here is a distinct development of the plot, disclosed in Louis XIV's letter of December 13th, 1684, and from which both Englands were preserved by the leaven of Puritanism, resulting in the glorious redemption of 1688; a second triumph of the principles which led the first Charles and William Laud to the scaffold; the requirement of simple justice.

In May of 1690, Andros sent another of his remarkable "reports" to the Lords of Trade. It was a review of his administration in New England, from 1688 to his imprisonment, and exhibits his usual mendacity, and tact in filching to his own credit whatever might seem desirable, and mis-

[1] James Stuart wrote to the Pope his full purpose to establish papacy in New England as well as in Old England Magnalia i. 163. A part of his scheme was to colonize N. E. with Irish.

[2] Magnalia. Life of Sir William Phipps.

construing every act of the colonists. His impudence is amusing. "The Confederates and chief actors in this revolution took upon them the goverment by the name of a Councill, who not content with the inconveniency they had brought on themselves in the Massachusetts Colony" (by ridding themselves of Andros and his vampires) "but to the ruine of the poore neighbors, on the twentieth of April gave orders for the drawing off of the forces from Pemyquid and other garrisons and places in the Eastern partes, far without the lymitts of their Colony[1] and where the seate of warr with the Indians was, and to seize several of the officers, and for calling home the vessels appointed to guard the coast and fishery, which was done accordingly, and the forces disbanded when most of the soldiers belonging to the standing companies there, were dispersed; of which and their actings at Boston, the Indians having notice, (and being supplied with ammunition and provision out of a vessel sent from Boston by some of the chief conspirators *before the insurrection* to trade with them) they were encouraged and enabled to renew and pursue the war; and by the assistance of some French who have been seen amongst them, and engaging of several other Indians before unconcerned, increased their numbers, that in a very short time, several hundred of their Majesties' subjects were killed and carried away captive; the Fort at Pemaquid taken, the whole Country of Cornwall, the greatest part of the Province of Maine, and part of the Province of New Hampshire

[1] This is a singular statement, to the very Council which had itself annexed that part of the country to Massachusetts. Andros' papers abound in such foolish and palpable falsehoods.

destroyed and deserted," and fisheries and lumber trade nearly ruined.[1]

The absolute falsehood of much of this narrative and its perversion of facts, become evident by attention to a few dates and details.

Immediately after the deposition of Andros on the eighteenth of April, 1689,[2] the venerable Bradstreet and the magistrates of the former Commonwealth, having resumed the government,[3] "to the security and satisfaction of the subjects in that Colony,"[4] they adopted energetic measures to shield their fellow colonists from the horrors of the Indian war. "Somewhile before the Revolution," attempts were made to conciliate the Eastern Sagamores, and, though the ranks of the Eastern forces were thinned by the apprehensions excited by Andros' inexplicable and treacherous conduct while at the East, "they sent unto the soldiers yet remaining at Pemaquid to keep their post, engaging to them that they should not want their pay.[5] Andros had placed public affairs in a most disastrous and alarming condition; his tyrannical and lawless proceedings at home, and his treacherous dealings with the Indians had paralyzed the

[1] Doc. Hist. New York, iii. 722—726. Randolph's Report to the Lords "from the Common Goal in Boston the 29th of May, 1689," and of course, reviewed and endorsed by his fellow culprit, Andros, is in same volume, pp. 578—583.

[2] Andros' "report." Andros, after his expulsion from Massachusetts, played the tyrant in Virginia, with impunity. There he was "frequently pleased to say they had no Title to their Lands, for a reason which neither himself nor any body else knew." *Beverley's Virginia*, 1705; § 141.

[3] Hutchinson's Massachusetts, 1795, i. 330—340.

[4] The king's letter of approbation, Aug. 12, 1689; *ibid* i. 347.

[5] Magnalia, ii. 511.

government, and both people and soldiers were in uncertainty whether their rulers and officers [1] were in the interests of France or England. The provisional government was beset with difficulties. Daily the tidings of Indian massacre, and cries for help, came from their Eastern brethren. Unhappily the records of this exciting period are lost. The earliest Council minutes,[2] are dated July 3d, when a Committee was sent to Albany, with suitable presents to enlist the "Maquas" or allies to the English against the Eastern Indians, and on the sixth of the same month it was "ordered that speedy care be taken for the preservation of Pemaquid, and their Majesties' people and interest there," and special instruction to James Weems,[3] the Commander at

1 "Some of the Chief Commanders" of the army at Pemaquid were "Papists." Magnalia, i. 163.

2 The earliest I have found.

3 The following document is printed from an early and probably contemporary copy, in the possession of Charles H. Morse, Esq., of Cambridge. It throws a gleam of light on the affairs of Pemaquid and our Colonial difficulties. Probably Lt. Weems' petition may be found in London. It must contain interesting particulars:

"To y^e^ R^t^. Hon^ble^ the L^ds^ of their Ma^ties^ most hon^ble^ privy Councill.

The Answer of S^r^ Henry Ashurst Barronet, Increase Mather, Elisha Cooke & Thomas Oakes, gentlemen (so far forth as they are concerned) to y^e^ petion of L^t^ James Weems.

Having received a Copy of y^e^ s^d^ pe'tion and your Lordships Order for the Agents of New England to put in their Respective Answers Doe with all humility lay before your L^d^pp's That they are Only Imployed and intrusted by the Governor, Councill and Representatives of y^e^ Colony of the Massachusetts Baye in New England & for no other part of New England And the s^d^ Respondents S^r^ Henry Ashurst & Increase Mather doe humbly represent unto your L^d^pp's that neither of them was in New England during the Transaction in the petition mentioned & know nothing thereof. And the Other Respondents Elisha Cooke & Thomas Oakes doe most humbly acquaint your L^d^ pp's that they doe not know that y^e^ ffort of *Pemaquid* was so distressed or taken by reason of such Defect or in such manner as the

that port: but in less than twenty days "Richard Pierce, and Hosea Mallett and sundry others, out of the five of the seven fishing boats at Sagadahoc," a part of Cornwall County, "appearing in Councill and declaring that they were resolved to leave the place, and Elisha Andrews, Commander of the garrison there, writing also that the planters were out of provision" and would not remain longer, they sent orders to Andrews, in case of desertion by the inhabitants, "to draw off the soldiers sent from Boston, by the Council, and to remove them together with the artillery, armes, ammunition and stores, belonging to the garrison to Falmouth, [2] under command of Captain Sylvanus Davis." The planters and soldiers of the East fled to Massachusetts in great numbers. [3]

petition sets forth. And with submission your L^d^ pp's doe apprehend that y^e^ goverm^t^ of y^e^ s^d^ Colony can make it appeare that the petitioner hath not truly represented matters in his petition. And none of the Respondents know that y^e^ 172—06—10^d^ in the petition mentioned, or any part thereof is Due or unpayed to the petitioner. And if any thing appeare to be Due to him They humbly conceive that had he remained upon the place Or shall make application to y^e^ Governm^t^: that he might or will there receive satisfaction for his Demands. However these Respondents deny that they were or are any waies entrusted or had or have any Authority from or effects of the s^d^ governm^t^ in their hands or power to pay the petitioner his Demands or any part thereof. But shall by the first opportunity represent to the Governm^t^ there w^t^ L^t^ Weems has Represented to your L^d^pp's in his petition. And doe not question but they will enable us to returne your L^d^ pp's a very satisfactory Answer. All which is most humbly Said before your Lordships.

March: 18: $169\frac{9}{1}$ ELISHA COOKE. HENRY ASHURST.
THOMAS OAKES. INCREASE MATHER.

[1] Early in August six of these Sagadehoc soldiers were sent to the defence of Worcester. *Council Records.*

[2] Magnalia, i. 512.

[3] A very useful synopsis of the political changes of Maine, in the Colonial period, is given by Williamson, i. 600—601.

On the twentieth of August, Mr. Timothy Thornton, merchant of Boston, and others were appointed to ascertain the number of Eastern refugees, and the places from which they fled, to facilitate the more effectual organization for defence; at the same time Major Thomas Savage, Capt. Andrew Belcher, and Col. John Pynchon were sent to Albany to negotiate anew with the Maquas against the Eastern foes.[1]

By the criminality of the Stuarts, Pemaquid, instead of being the centre and Capital of a great Eastern territory, under the English flag, stood as the forlorn hope of Protestantism, on the very frontier of English territory. The planters and soldiers at Pemaquid looked upon Andros as the secret friend of the French, and knew not the possible extent of his treachery; they were remote from the authorities at Boston, and hated by the French Jesuits; the priest consecrated the tomahawk of the savage by special religious service, and then sent them to exterminate the English heretics.

The details of the Indian cruelties and faithlessness at their capture of the fort at Pemaquid, in August 1689, are narrated in the Magnalia. The fort was overlooked from a rock near to it, a fatal mistake.[2]

In compliance with an "order in Council" of the twenty-sixth of April, 1691, at Kensington, Gov. Bradstreet and the Council of Boston, delivered to the order of Governor Slaughter of New York, "the great guns belonging to Pemaquid Fort, that were brought to Boston." It appears that

[1] Council Records.

[2] Magnalia ii. 512. Hutchinson i. 352. Mather says, Aug. 3d, Hutchinson, that Aug. 23d was the date.

a sloop for the government, was built by order of Andros, in Maine, probably at Pemaquid.[1] The fort was dismantled, and the country depopulated, and Pemaquid with its "dependencies," was left desolate.

[1] The order also mentions "ammunition and stores of warr lately brought to Boston by the people of New England from Pemaquid, a Fort belonging to the government of New York." The littleness of this proceeding and the false information laid before the Council, on which the "order" was based, indicate its origin in the petty soul and characteristic revenge of the degraded Andros. Compare the "order" and Bradstreet's reply, as given at length, in Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y. iii. 711, 769; also 710, 724, 770.

CHAPTER XVI.

Colonial policy changed—the war carried into Canada—Phipps' patriotism—Port Royal captured—Quebec—Indians seek peace—Walker's influence at Whitehall—Phipps at Pemaquid in August 1692—erects there the strongest English Fortress in America—it is called Fort William Henry—French villainy with the Indians—they are for peace at Pemaquid—priestcraft—treachery, murders—a flag of truce—the result.

The defensive policy of New England thinned her population and wasted her treasures, with no promises of relief. The Indians were armed, and instigated by the French, and to subdue them was hopeless.[1] War with the French, and the capture of Canada were resolved upon. Phipps, the son of Pemaquid, had, with equal sense and virtue, refused the treasonable offer of James Stuart to commission him as *absolute* Governor of New England. He proposed the reduction of Canada, and offered his person and estate in the cause. Massachusetts approved the plan, and on the eleventh of May, 1690, Port Royal was captured, and the whole sea-coast, from thence westward was again English territory.[2] The attempt against Quebec was unsuccessful, but in the beginning of the next winter, the Indians made overtures for peace: during this brief cessation of arms, the sea-ports were fortified with all diligence, against the French.[3] The

[1] Holmes' Annals, i. 430, 431, 442, 441.

[2] Magnalia, 162, 172. Holmes' Annals, i. 431; Hutchinson, i. 396, 397.

[3] Gov. Bradstreet's letter, May 8, 1691, Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., iii. 769, 770.

ministry at Whitehall, enlightened upon New England interests by Dr. Mather and his associates, resolved to protect the East against French aggression. Under royal instructions Sir William Phipps from Boston, arrived at Pemaquid, in August 1692, with 450 men, and in place of the flimsy stockade made by Andros, erected a fort, in extent and strength superior to any English fortress in America, and called it Fort William Henry.[1] The famous warrior Benjamin Church, whose advice was asked by Sir William as to the structure, replied that "he had never any value for them, being only nests for destruction."[2] There was too much truth in his judgment.

This fortress "in the Heart of the Enemys Country," was built of stone,[3] in a quadrangular figure, 737 feet in circumference without the outer wall, and 108 feet square within the inner ones. It had 28 ports, and 18 guns mounted, six being 18 Pounders. The Southern wall, fronting the sea, was 22 feet high, and above 6 feet thick at the ports, which were 8 feet from the ground. The great flanker, or round tower at the West End of this line was 20 feet high, the wall on the East line was 12 feet high, on the North 10 and on the West 18. It stood twenty rods from high water mark and was garrisoned with sixty and sometimes one hundred men.[4] The expense of this enterprise was a great

[1] It was commonly called "Pemaquid Fort," "one of the strongest and largest in all North America." Dummer's Defence of N. E. Modern Univ. Hist. xxxix. 319. British Empire in America, i. 146.

[2] Holmes' American Annals, i. 442.

[3] Above 2000 cart loads.

[4] Dummer's Defence of N. E. Magnalia, ii. 536. Holmes' Am. Annals, i. 442. Neal's N. E. ii. 489. Douglass' Summary, 555. Hutchinson ii. 68, 138.

burden to the Province, and the cause of much complaint, but it awed and restrained the Indians. Still the French, with persistent cruelty, urged the savages to further outrages, and the country was filled with most depressing anxiety.[1]

In the Spring of 1693, there were rumors that the enemy were "embodying to make an attack upon Pemaquid, or some of the towns westward,"[2] but the erection of a stone fort at Saco Falls some time in July, and the presence of Captain Converse, with a force of about 500 men, effected peace. On Thursday, the 20th of July, Madockawando, Edgeremet, and several other Indian Sagamores came to Pemaquid with a flag of truce, surrendered some of their English captives to Captain John March, the commander, and agreed to a cessation of arms till August 18th, when they proposed to make a treaty of peace,[3] which was done a week earlier than the date proposed. There were present thirteen of the principal chiefs or warriors, with their four interpreters, representing the Indians on the Penobscot, Kennebec, Androscoggin, and the Saco rivers. "The submission and agreement" signed by them recited that "whereas a bloody war had for some years now past been made and carried on by the Indians, ... through the instigation and influences of the French," they will now "abandon and forsake the French interest.[4] This promise was

[1] Doc. Col. Hist. N. York, iii. 855. Except the few scattering English at and near Pemaquid, the country between Maine and Nova Scotia was nearly depopulated. Hutch. ii. 14.

[2] Letter from Capt. Convers, May 23, 1693, Council Records.

[3] Council Records.

[4] Magnalia, ii. 542, 543.

violated in less than a year, and the Jesuits again became masters of the Indians.[1]

Several Indians having been recently captured at Pemaquid, in December 1694, Major James Converse was sent with a force of fifty or sixty soldiers, in suitable vessels, to reinforce the garrison and to learn from the captives the designs of the French. In the next month, Capt. John March and Mr. Pike, the minister of Pemaquid, were particularly directed by the Council to elicit from 'Sheepscote John," all the information respecting the enemy's condition, but these precautions were of but little use in the end,[2] and prevented their restoring the English prisoners as they had promised to do. The Summer of 1694, was a bloody time. On the approach of winter, Bomazeen, the Chief of the Norridgewocks, who had signed the treaty a year before, and was the ringleader in the brutalities and murders perpetrated upon the English, appeared beneath the walls of Pemaquid, with a flag of truce, pretending that he and his companions were just arrived from Canada, acknowledging their crimes, and promising better for the future. The following account was from one present at the interview:—

"November 19th, [1694,] Bomazeen, with ten or a dozen Indians, called over the barbican, desiring to speak with Capt. March, and set up a flag, by which they did implicitly own themselves enemies and breakers of the peace. We did not put out ours until an hour or two after theirs; would have persuaded them there was no reason for it; minding them of the late agreement at Pemaquid; but they called earnestly for it. We resolved to seize Bomazeen at any rate, except positive violation of promise. We made no

[1] Hutchinson, ii. 68, 72, 79—81, 84, 86.

[2] Council Records.

other promise before he came over but that we should be glad of his company, would treat him kindly, and do him no hurt. After he was seized, we told him the same, and observed it punctually, so long as he staid here; but withal told him we must know who did the mischief at Oyster-River and Groton, &c. of which they made themselves ignorant: why the peace was so soon broken and by whom; that they must go to Boston and abide there till Sheepscote John was sent to fetch in the other Sagamores, and then they should come again with some of the English to treat, &c. We thought it not unlawful, nor culpable to apprehend such perfidious villians and traitors (though under a white rag) that have so often falsified their promise to the English, viz: at Cocheco, at Casco fort, at Oyster-river and other places; that makes no conscience of breaking the peace whenever it serves their turn, although never so solemnly confirmed with subscriptions and oaths. They have no regard to the law of nations, and therefore deserve no human respect. Besides, we are credibly informed, they came with a certain design to destroy their Majesties' fort here, under pretence of trade, friendship, &c. and so they are fallen into a pit of their own digging. Neither did we aim at any thing more than their detainment as prisoners, supposing some advantage might occur to the poor captives, if not to the country thereby. If your honors judge it not fairly done, they are now in your hands to dispose of and deal with them as may be for their Majesties' honors, and as the circumstances of the case require."

Hutchinson, while condemning this gross violation of the public faith on the part of the English, says that he knows "of no other action of this sort which can be justly charged upon the government." Of course, the habitual treachery

of the French,—for the Indians were their subjects and acting under their instructions,—could afford no sufficient justification of even one instance of bad faith in others. Captain March considered the Indians as rebels, and Massachusetts thought that "for their perfidy they ought to be treated as land-pirates and murderers." [1]

[1] Hutchinson, ii. 81.

The author of this narrative was the minister of Dover, in New Hampshire, and a graduate of Harvard College. These are indications of the public temper among all classes.

CHAPTER XVII.

A truce—Indian hostages—Sheepscote John, a mediator—scene at Pemaquid, May 20th—mutual distrust—no agreement—conference ended—naval expedition from Quebec against Pemaquid—the French capture the English man-of-war Newport, and use her at the siege of Pemaquid fort—Baron Castine at the siege—bombs, cowardice, threats, trepidation, and surrender of Pemaquid by the poltroon, Chubb—supposed condition of the fortress—the French dismantle and abandon it—Pemaquid desolate—reflections on the extinction of the Colony.

The loss of their warriors, and apprehensions for their safety, compelled the Indians to a peaceable demeanor for a while; by reason of this, and a fatal distemper which prevailed among them in the year 1695, "the French found it impracticable to send them out in parties upon our frontiers. Besides the hostages they had given in 1693, the Indians seized at Pemaquid, were in the prison at Boston; Bomazeen in particular they greatly valued, and they were ready to submit to almost any terms to obtain their release. The French represent the English as treating the hostages and prisoners with cruelty; but there was no other cruelty than a confinement in a prison in Boston, which, it must be acknowledged, was a very bad one. The English were not less desirous of peace than the Indians, if they could have had any security for the continuance of it. One of the hostages, Sheepscote John, undertook to go from Boston as a mediator, and, by his influence, fifty canoes of Indians

came within about a league of the fort at Pemaquid, the twentieth of May, and sent in eight captives; acknowledged their fault in violating the last treaty, and proposed the release of the captives on both sides, and the establishment of a durable peace. A truce of thirty days was agreed upon, and the Commissioners were to come from Boston, to settle the terms of peace. The Commissioners, Colonel Philips, Lieutenant-Colonel Hawthorn, and Major Convers, soon after met delegates from the Indians at Pemaquid, but refused to enter upon any treaty with them until all the English in their hands should be delivered up. Bomazeen, their great warrior, and some others, were left in prison at Boston. The Indians looked upon themselves as not well used; sensible that when they had parted with all their prisoners, they should have no way of obtaining the release of their own people, except by a new set of captives. They, therefore, refused to treat any further, and left the place abruptly. The government, I imagine, expected that, by retaining some of the Indians as hostages, some restraint would be laid upon the rest, from exercising cruelty towards English prisoners, seeing we should have it in our power to retaliate it upon their own people; and chose rather to risk the continuance of the war than part with this security. Charlevoix, who supposes the Lieut-Governor, Stoughton, to have been there in person, says, 'the Abenaquis insisted upon the release of their brethren, who were detained in violation of the flag of truce, and the laws of nations, and Stoughton only returned bloody reproaches for their late hostilities, and terrible threats if they did not deliver up the authors of them. The Indians were as stout as he was. At length both sides began to soften. Stoughton was not willing to drive to extremity a people who had

formerly known how to make themselves a terror. They were desirous, at any rate, of recovering their relations out of the hands of the English; being fully determined, that when they had accomplished their ends, they would revenge the blood of such of them as had been murdered; but perceiving, that, while they were in treaty, the English were preparing to surround them, they ran to their arms.' This, no doubt, was the account they gave to their priest, when they returned home."[1]

"Captain Paxton, in the Newport came to New England in company with the Sorlings in 1694, and both ships were ordered, together with a yacht or tender, in the Province service, to lay off the river St. John, to wait the arrival of the store-ship. It happened, unfortunately, that the French at Quebec were, at the same time, fitting out two men-of-war, with the addition of two companies of soldiers and fifty Mickmack Indians, in order to reduce the New England fort at Pemaquid. These ships were of superior force to the English ships, and Iberville, an experienced officer, commanded. When they had put into a port upon their passage, Villebon, from St. John, informed them of the situation and circumstances of the small English fleet. They went immediately in quest of them, and came upon them when they were not expected. The Newport,[2] after the loss of one of her top-masts, surrendered. A fog arose, which gave the Sorlings and the tender an oppor-

[1] Hutchinson, ii. 84, 85—88.

[2] July 9, 1696,—At a Council, etc.,

"Upon receipt of a letter this day from Lieut^{t}-Gov^{r} Usher of the arrival of the Yacht, Tender upon his Maj^{ties} two Frigats in the Bay of Funday, advising of the loss of his Maj^{ties} Ship the Newport, being taken by 2 French Ships of War.

Ordered, That there be an embargo laid upon all outward bound ships,

tunity for their escape, and they returned to Boston, with the news of this second disappointment. The French commander, being strengthened with the Newport, went into St. John, and there refitted. From thence, he proceeded to Penobscot, where the Baron St. Castine was waiting for him, with two hundred Indians. The whole force arrived before the fort at Pemaquid, the 14th of July.

"Capt. March, who was a good officer, had resigned the command of the fort a few months before, and was succeeded by a very different man, Captain Chubb. Iberville, upon his arrival, sent a summons to surrender. Chubb returned a vain, foolish answer, 'that if the sea was covered with French vessels, and the land with Indians, yet he would not give up the fort.' The Indians thereupon began their fire, and return was made by the musketry, and with a few cannon from the fort. This brought the first day to a close. In the night, Iberville landed his cannon and mortars; and the next day, before three in the afternoon, he had raised his batteries, and thrown five bombs into the fort, to the great terror of Chubb and the garrison. Castine, about this time, found some way of conveying a letter into the fort, and let them know that, if they delayed surrendering until the assault was made, they would have to do with savages, and must expect no quarter, for he had seen the

and other vessels to continue untill further order, [repealed Sept. 4, 1696.]

W^m^ Stoughton."

"Advised, That a Shallop be forthwith dispatched with an Express to Pemaquid, to acquaint the Captain of his Majesty's Fort there of the taking of the Newport Frigat, and of the French Ships of War being gone to St. Johns River, and the preparations making by the Indians, to advise him to be careful in keeping good lookouts, and to be upon his guard.

Which was accordingly ordered."

Council Records.

King's order to Iberville to give none. This did the business; the chamade was beat immediately, and the fort was surrendered, upon the terms offered by the French, that the garrison should be sent to Boston, and exchanged for the like number of French and Indian prisoners; only, a special security or engagement was insisted upon from the French commander, that their persons should be protected against the rage of the Indians. [1]

"Chubb's conduct was universally censured, and at first he was put under arrest; but came off without any other punishment than being laid aside. The fort had fifteen cannon mounted, and ninety able men to manage them, and no want of ammunition or stores. The French supposed that if there had been a brave defence, the event would have been doubtful; at least, that the fort could not have been carried without a great loss of men; and attribute the surrender to the cowardice of the garrison, who compelled the commander to act contrary to his own inclination. [2]

"After all, there is room to doubt whether a better garrison could have withstood that force, until relief might have been afforded from Boston. The French were provided with cannon and mortars; were numerous enough to resist any sallies from the garrison, without interrupting the siege; there were no casemates nor other shelter for the men, and the magazine itself was bomb-proof in one part of it only, which was under a rock." [3] It is certain that the gov-

[1] *Hutchinson's Mass.*, ii. 88—90.

[2] *Modern Universal Hist.*, vol. 39., pp. 323—326.

[3] This rock is the only portion which remains intact; though the outlines of the fort and many features of antiquarian interest will reward the pilgrim to these ancient grounds. Several gentlemen of the Maine Historical Society, and others, in August, 1855, enjoyed a delightful excursion to Mon-

ernment, and people had been sometime in a listless, apathetic mood, and greatly neglected[1] their works of defence; that the French took advantage of this lethargy, and found Pemaquid Fort ill prepared, in force or discipline, for so formidable an assault.

"The reason of the garrison's requiring an extraordinary caution against the rage of the Indians, was this: They were conscious of their own cruelty and barbarity, and feared revenge, and a security from it might probably hasten the surrender, lest it should afterwards not be in their power to obtain it. In the month of February before, Egremet, a chief of the Machias Indians, came to the fort, to treat upon exchange of prisoners. Chubb with some of his garrison fell upon the Indians in the midst of the treaty, when they thought themselves most secure, murdered Egremet and Abenquid with two others. Toxus and some others

began, Pemaquid and Boothbay, the "Pentecost" of Weymouth in 1635. The party consisted of Hon. Charles S. Daveis, L L. D., Hon. William Willis, John McKeen, Esq., the Rev. Messrs. John S. C. Abbott, James B. Thornton, Jun., and William Scott Southgate, Mr. Waldo Abbott, and the writer. An account of this excursion from the elegant pen of Rev. Mr. Southgate, appeared in the *Portland Advertiser* of Aug. 29 and 30, 1855.

[1] July 13, 1696,

"His honor the L[t] Gov[r] acquainted the Council that he ordered a Detachment of Forty men, for the Enforcement of the Garrison at Pemaquid."—*Council Records.*

Mather charges Chubb "with an unaccountable baseness," and says "there were 95 men double armed in the fort, which might have defended it against nine times as many assailants." Charlevoix says that the fort was not so strong as it appeared to be, but that if it had been bravely defended, the issue would have been doubtful, and the victory a bloody one. Dr. Holmes thinks that Mather underestimated the force of the assailants. *Holmes' American Annals*, i. 458.

The best detailed account of this siege and surrender is in the *Modern Univ. Hist.* vol. 39, p. 325, 326.

escaped, and some remained prisoners; one Indian was found in the fort, in irons, when the French took possession of it. Such was the fury of Castine's Indians, that there was no way of securing the garrison but by removing them to an island, under a constant guard of French troops, until provision was made for transporting them to Boston. Some writers palliate and seem inclined to justify this action of Chubb. Surely the cruelty shewn by Indians to the English must have biased and blinded them. Private letters which passed at this time between some of the best men in the Province, condemned it as a horrid piece of villainy.

The French remained at Pemaquid until the 18th of July, demolishing the fort (their plunder was small) and then went to Penobscot where they tarried until the 3d of September." Though the fort was dismantled and wholly abandoned by the French forces on the third day after the shameful surrender by the poltroon in command, the valorous achievement was relied upon by the French as a conquest of Acadia, when negotiating the treaty of Utrecht in the year 1712.

Those who had looked to the Fortress for protection had fled, or perished; none went out of its open gates, none came in, Pemaquid was desolate, and this was the inglorious close of the first period of her history.

What extreme vicissitudes of fortune, what diverse and opposite characters, interests, passions, hopes and fears, had here found play? Problems in government, in social ethics, in religion, which make up the history of centuries and of nations in the old world, were here again tested by zealous and able partisans; it is true the time was brief, the territory was limited, the population not large; the whole was condensed in space and time, but though the whole was in miniature, the actors were able and earnest

men, who ventured reputation, fortune, and even life, in their attempts, and whose passions, pride, and will were roused to the utmost.

Thus ANCIENT PEMAQUID presents materials for a history, not less varied or instructive, than that which may be gathered from more imposing annals. We have traced the colony from its conception to its utter extinction.

The subsequent settlement at Pemaquid may be deemed the subject of a distinct and independent history, belonging especially to the annals of the present town, under its modern corporate name of Bristol, though embracing only a portion of the ancient territory.

CHAPTER XVIII.

French policy and tactics—their perfidy to the Indians—shall we refortify Pemaquid?—its condition—it is not to be done, and why not—value of our naval stores—England needs them—Indian treaty July 13, 1713—Ralle's intrigues with the Indians—the east resettled by the English.

The peace of Ryswick, September tenth, 1697, brought no peace to the Colonial interests represented at Pemaquid. The curse [1] of the corrupt Stuarts still rested on the shores of Sagadehock and Acadia; our fishermen and traders were driven from the coasts, a French priest erected a Romish altar on the Kennebec, the Indians were claimed as French subjects, and all this was fruitful of irritation and personal hatreds, keeping alive the embers of war.

The Earl of Bellamont, in his gubernatorial speech used good plain English about this matter. He said that "the parting with Canada to the French and the Eastern country called Acadia, or Nova Scotia, with the noble fishery on that coast, were most execrable treacheries to England, and intended, without doubt, to serve the ends of popery. It is too well known, what interest that king favored, who parted with Nova Scotia, and of what religion he died."—The population of New France, consisting at this time of probably less than nine thousand souls, was hopelessly in-

[1] Hutchinson ii. 124, 125, 138. Belknap's Hist. N. H., Farmer's Ed., 167. Williamson ii. 34, 50.

ferior, not only in numbers, but in military prowess to their English [1] neighbors, and unable to cope with them succesfully in honorable warfare.

Frequent representations of the critical condition of the English interests in New England, at last gained the attention of the lords of trade, who wrote, October 30th, 1700, to the Earl of Bellamont, we "shall insist upon the English right as far as the river St. Croix, but in the mean while, in relation to the encroachments of the French, and their building a church on the Kennebec River, that seems to us a very proper occasion for your lordships' urging the general assembly of Massachusetts to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid, which they ought to have done long ago, and thereby they might have prevented this and many other inconveniences."

The dictates of humanity and honor are held sacred among civilized nations, even in war, and their violation is deemed a national disgrace. But in the struggles between the French and English for national supremacy in America, it was the uniform policy of the former to employ the savages in their fighting and to adopt the features of cruelty and diabolism which distinguish Indian warfare. This offered the only chance of exterminating the English heretics, and the French persistently, and under the garb of religion, involved the Indians in the ineffable miseries of continued hostilities, to secure an object of no possible benefit, or real interest to them as a people. This view is justified by every page of our history, and exhibits the odious conduct and mercenary relation of the French priests to the poor Indian.

[1] Hutchinson ii. 105; Mather ii. 154; Holmes' Annals i. 464, 465. Williamson ii. ch. i.

The foundations, the entrenchments, and most of the walls of Pemaquid Fort, remained entire, but the whole country was deserted, and there was great commercial distress in the Province. The promises of the Crown, and the importunity of Dudley, were ineffectual; the House of Representatives, in 1705, "referring to her Majesty's directions for the building a fort at Pemaquid," declared, "we are humbly of opinion, that her Majesty hath received misrepresentations concerning the necessity and usefulness of a fort there; wherefore this house, in their humble address to her Majesty, dated the 27th of March, 1703, and since twice repeated, did among other things lay before Majesty our reasons why we could not comply with her expectations in that affair; as

First, the little benefit said fort was to us, not being, as we could discern, any bridle to the enemy or barrier to our frontiers, being out of the usual road of the Indians, and *one hundred miles distant from any English plantation;* and seemed only to make an anchorage for a few fishing boats that accidentally put in shore; but the expense thereon was very great, not less than twenty thousand pounds.

Secondly, the charge of the said fort will be such that we cannot see how the province can possibly sustain it."

The Council coincided in these views, advised against a compliance with the wishes of the Crown, and Pemaquid remained in ruins. An earlier adoption of this policy would have avoided vast expenditures, in really useless fortifications, and by concentrating the population into compact settlements, have lessened the points of attack, facilitated an efficient system of guard and resistance, and thus

prevented the torrents of blood, and terrible visitations, which desolated the scattered hamlets.

Within a few years England had begun to appreciate the value of our forests as a supply for her naval stores, which had been obtained from the north of Europe, especially from Sweden.[1] The territory from the Piscataqua to the St. Lawrence, now attracted their attention, and it is not improbable that in this we may detect the reason of the earnestness of the Crown in urging the military occupation of Pemaquid, to be held as a *point d'appui* for future operations, wrest from the French this inexhaustible supply of timber and masts for the commercial and naval marine. The French remained masters east of the Kennebec, and the only pastime left to them was piracy whenever an unwary fisherman or trader should approach too near their shores.

For many years Casco was the utmost frontier town of the English. After the treaty of July 13, 1713, signed by "*Warrueensit, Wadacanaquin* and *Boomazeen* for Kennebeck," the gentlemen holding the ancient titles to the lands in that vicinity, attempted the resettlement of the Country, and were favored by the government[2] there. The husbandman with his cattle, the fisherman's flakes, the ring of

[1] *Cokes'* "*State of England*," Lond. 1696, ii. Appendix. pp. 52, 58, 60. *Raynall's Brit. America.* Book 4, ch. 6. "Other and better Returns than Money itself they make in Masts, the fairest and largest in the whole World, besides Pitch, Tarr, Turpentine, Rosin, Plank, Knees for Ships, and other species of Timber for various uses. These, especially Pitch and Tar, were formerly purchas'd of the *Swede* with Crown Pieces at intollerable Prices; but since the Encouragement given for their Importation from NEW ENGLAND, they have fallen to half the Value. It is to be farther consider'd, that what we take of these Commodities from our own Plantations, is brought Home in our own Ships, and paid for with our Manufactures."—*Jer. Dummer's* "*Defence of the New England Charters.*"

[2] *Pennhallow's Indian wars*, 1726.

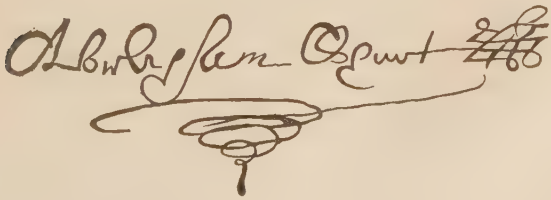
the woodman's axe, the sound of the water-wheel, the trading house, the coaster laden with lumber for Boston, or even for a foreign market,—the sights and sounds of civilized life—again broke the solitude; but the Jesuits renewed their fiendish work, in which Sebastian Ralle became conspicuously infamous; and under his teachings and leadership, assassination, brutality, treachery, and villainy became virtues. These specimens of "pure Romanism" [1] are "gracefully exhibited" in Penhallow's history of the Indian wars from 1703 to 1726. [2] The custody of the Eastern forests, the rights of the proprietors, and a jealous care of the royal prerogative, led to sharp discussions, in and out of the legislature; alleged trespasses on the royal woods and violations of rights of property, continually attracted attention to the East and greatly promoted its settlement. [3]

It was the dying wish of the venerable Shurt "that Pemaquid might remain the Metropolitan of these parts because it ever had been so, even before Boston was settled;" the aged magistrate lived not too long, and saw not the ruins of this Ancient Capital of the East.

[1] Peter Oliver's "Puritan Commonwealth," 1856. 253, 258.

[2] Boston. 1726. Hutchinson Ed. 1795, ii. 198.

[3] The late Indian wars, Dunbar's settlement of Pemaquid, "Fort Frederic," land titles, the "Pemaquid Proprietors," the incorporation of "Bristol," and the career of its distinguished citizen, Commodore Tucker, one of the earliest of the naval heroes of our revolution, belong to modern Pemaquid. Williamson ii. 91—95, 87.



APPENDIX.

My researches about Pemaquid have brought to light some matters not pertaining to Ancient Pemaquid, but valuable in its later history, and worthy of preservation.

Worcester, May 19th, 1857.

My Dear Sir,—

In looking over a portion of our manuscripts that I had not examined for many years, I have met with two thin unbound volumes that profess to contain the Records of the Pemaquid Proprietors, from August 31st, 1743, to Nov. 24th, 1774. They are numbered, No. I, and No II. At the first meeting, Thomas Drowne was chosen Clerk, and kept the records till February 27, 1772, when he enters his own resignation.

There is very little matter of any historical interest in these records, ... The first volume contains a plan of High Island, drawn by Elijah Packard, for Shem Drowne, in 1762. The names of the Proprietors I suppose are all entered; among them I see George Craddock, Adam Winthrop, and Ezekiel Cheever.

Very truly yours,

S. F. HAVEN.

J. Wingate Thornton, Esq.

Worcester, May 22, 1857.

My Dear Sir,—

I do not find any reference to a *seal* in the Pemaquid Proprietors' Records, that I wrote you about. I do not observe a list of proprietors,

except in a division of lands. For example, on the second page is the following division of 9000 acres :—

'Boston, Tuesday Nov. 15th, 1743.

The Proprietors met according to adjournment and settled each proprietor's proportion in y^e^ aforesaid lands agreeable to the following list, viz

		Habijah Savage, Esq.,	30 votes.
		George Craddock, Esq.,	5 "
		Adam Winthrop, Esq.,	5 "
			——40
PRESENT.		John Alford & Joshua Winslow, Esq^rs^,	2½
Habijah Savage, Moderator.		Sarah Sweetser,	2½
George Craddock,	Esq^rs^,	John Philips,	2½
Jonas Clark,		Joanna Philips,	2½
Ezekiel Cheever,		Benj^a^ Stevens,	2½
Thomas Jenners,		Ezekiel Cheever, Esq.,	2½
John Chandler,		Shem Drowne,	15
			——30
Capt. Joseph Fitch,		Jonas Clarke, Esq.,	2
Capt. John Philips,		Sam^l^ Clarke,	2
Capt. Thomas Ruck,		Thomas Ruck,	1
Mr. Shem Drowne,		John Chandler, Esq.,	2
Mr. John Kneeland,		Joseph Fitch,	1
Mr. Seth Sweetser,		Timothy Parrott,	
Mr. Christ^o^ Tillden,		Abigail Tillden,	1
		Christopher Tillden,	
		John Kneeland, guardian to his daughter Prudence,	1
		Anderson Philips,	1
		Henry Philips,	1
		Shem Drowne,	8
			——20
			90

Which was unanimously voted to be entered in y^e^ Book pr Thomas Drowne, who was chosen Clerk at a former meeting, and sworn at the present meeting by Habijah Savage, Esq.'

Truly yours,

S. F. HAVEN.

J. W. Thornton, Esq.

Samuel W. Johnson, M. D., of Bristol, informs me that the Church Records of the town "were burnt about sixty years since."

Wm. McClintock, Esq., in 1815, surveyed a large portion of the Peninsula of Pemaquid. The original survey is in the Massachusetts Land Office at Boston.

Thos. McClure, Esq., a native of Bristol, is well informed in its later history.

Rev. John A. Vinton, formerly in the ministry at Bristol, gave much attention to its history, and generously opened to my use his manuscript collections. He collected traditions and facts from several of the ancient townsmen, who have since died, so that he is possessed of valuable information not to be found elsewhere—matter indispensable to the historian of Bristol. Two elaborate letters on Pemaquid history were contributed by Mr. Vinton to the Boston Traveller, of October 21, 28, 1848.

Mr. John B. Mansfield, has shown to me several pages of a historical gazetteer of New England, now in the press, in which he has given, from personal examination, a minute account of the present appearance of the objects of historical interest in Bristol. It is well done and worthy the attention of Pemaquid citizens.

"AT A LEGAL MEETING of the Pemaquid Proprietors Held by Adjournment at Boston, On Thursday the Eighteenth Day of August Anno Domini One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty-Three.

Voted, That whereas Francis Brindley Esq^{r} in right of George Cradock Esq^{r}: has agreed to Part With His Lot of Land Letter C The Third Division Number Forty Seven To The Dutch, at or near Broad Bay, On The Same Conditions The Other Proprietors dispose of Theirs, to The Said Dutch,—This is Therefore to Direct, and impower, The Clerk of the Said

Propriety For the Time being To Certifie, To the Said Francis Brindley, affixing the Common Seal of the Said Propriety, That if the Said Lot Number Forty Seven aforesaid, should have been Laid Out To Any of Leveretts, and Beauchamps, Heirs, Or assigns, and set of to any, That The Said Brindley now Claims Under, And Brigadier Waldo's Pretensions To The Same Should Take place, in Such Case, The said Brindley Shall have a Grant, From The Said Propriety of Land Equivalent Thereto, For quantity, and Quallity as it now is.

Boston, Augst 27th 1763.

This may Certifie That The Above Votes is a True Copy—From The Pemaquid Proprietors' Book of Records. And That The Seal Thereunto Affixed is The Common Seal of The Said Propriety.

Pr THOMAS DROWNE,
Prop: Clerk.

ERRATA IN PEMAQUID PAPERS.

On page 141, for Strakey, read Strachey; on p. 156, 2d line from top, for that *the* little, read that little; 2d line from foot of p. 157, for *thirty*, read forty; 16th line from foot of p. 175, for Iriquois, read Iroquois; p. 177, for 1836, read 1856; p. 179, 4th line from top, for of *the* three, read of three; p. 179, 3d line from foot, for captured, read captured a; p. 183, for xlii, read xxxii; p. 186, 11th line from foot, for Welle, read Welles; p. 203, 9th line from top, for D'au*brey*, read D'aulnay; p. 206, for xxxviii, read xxviii; p. 220, 5th line from top, for claims became, read claims, became; p. 292, for 1635, read 1625; other typographical errors, as Gillbert, and Gübert, for Gilbert,—trafficers, for traffickers,—hasard, for hazard—proceengs, for proceedings,—thei, for their,—weakt, for weak,—p. 276, 9th line from top, *or*, for as,—Lord o, for Lord of,—and the like, are too obvious to require special notice here.

ARTICLE IV.

REMARKS

ON THE

VOYAGE OF GEORGE WAYMOUTH,

TO THE

COAST OF MAINE.

1605.

BY JOHN McKEEN.

WAYMOUH'S VOYAGE.

It is proposed to make some comment upon the voyage of Capt. George Waymouth, made in the spring and summer of 1605—showing the whereabouts of his discoveries, with some observations respecting the Patent of Henry 4th, of France to Sieur de Mont.

Capt. Waymouth was a distinguished naval officer, who had been engaged some years prior to this time, in the search of a north west passage [1] to the Indies. On his return from the Arctic regions in 1603, he was engaged to undertake *another voyage*, ostensibly, for the *same purpose, really* for the discovery of some suitable place for the establishment of *a colony*, and the furtherance of the trade and commerce of the country.

Such was the jealousy existing among some of the maritime nations of Europe, that these enterprises for the discovery of new places for trade and commerce, were managed with the most profound secrecy. As in his former voyage, so in this, he was solemnly bound to reveal nothing of his intentions or discoveries, excepting to those engaged in the enterprise. The same was enjoined on all who went with him.

[1] Collections of Hakluyt Society by Wm. Strachey.

[1] In pursuing this object, it was the province of the Capt. to keep a journal of the voyage, the nautical statistics, his discoveries, and all that was necessary to give his employers and patrons a full account of the value of what he might accomplish. Another person was selected to keep a journal, to be published on his return, for the purpose of *setting forth* to the public the discoveries that might be made, giving such account of them as should *tell* with the public, excite a disposition to colonize, and make the subject popular, without revealing *definitely* the place where the discovery was made. This accounts for the obscurity, in this particular, of the journal. It was published immediately after the return of the ship, and was received by the public generally with much *enthusiastic* feeling and intense interest. This journal was kept by James Rosier. It brought about a new era in favor of emigration to the new world, and many were encouraged to seek for new homes. A limited extract from this printed journal, published in "Purchas's Pilgrims," is all that was known and preserved of the journal, until it was recovered by President Sparks in his researches while in England, and presented by him to the Massachusetts Historical Society. It appeared in the 8th volume of their Collections published in 1843.

Dr. Belknap not being able to designate the location from this extract, solicited the assistance of Capt. John Foster Williams of the U. S. Revenue Cutter at Boston to examine the coast. This was in 1796.

The result of this examination was, that the opinion, heretofore entertained [2] was erroneous, and that the harbor discovered and entered by Capt. Waymouth was not

[1] Preface to Rosier's Journal of Waymouth's Voyage.

[2] Hubbard's Hist. New England and Prince's Chronology, page 109.

Townsend Harbor, but *St. George's Island Harbor*, and that the river which he discovered and explored was not the *Sagadahoc* but the *Penobscot River*.[1] This paper was written in the year 1797, and was published the next year. This united opinion of Dr. Belknap and Capt. Williams has been generally received from that time to the present, and followed by all who have written on the subject.

It proposed now to show that Dr. Belknap was wrong in the start,—wrong in his statement, and altogether wrong in his conclusions.

The ship which Capt. Waymouth commanded was called the Archangel, and was owned and fitted out for the enterprise by the Earl of South Hampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour. They sailed on the 5th of March, 1605, from Ratcliff. The journal gives all the particulars of the voyage, and its various incidents,—but all that is to our purpose to state is, that on the 17th of May, Capt. Waymouth discovered the Island of Monhegan, which he called St. George's; and at about twelve o'clock that day, he anchored on the north side of the Island, at about a league from the shore. Thus far all are now agreed. From the fact, that the day before there had been a severe gale of wind, and it having cleared away in the night, it may be inferred that the atmosphere was perfectly clear and transparent.

"From this point," states the journal,—"we might discern the main land from the west, south west, to the east, north east; and a great way (as it then seemed, and we afterwards found it) up into the main[2] we might discern very high mountains, though the main seemed but low land."

[1] See 2d vol. Belknap's Biography, Article Waymouth.

[2] Undoubtedly this means up into the main land and not along shore.

It will here be particularly noticed, that in the extract above, no course is given as to the direction of the mountains, neither was it probably intended. But Doct. Belknap on the contrary, in the questions he proposes for Capt. Williams to answer, states explicitly, and without authority, that "the mountains bore N. N. E. from the ship." On this unauthorized assertion they have reasoned, and rested the result, viz : the discovery of St. George's Island Harbor, and the Penobscot river.

"The next day," states the journal, "being Whitsunday, because we rode too much open to the sea and winds, we weighed anchor about 12 o'clock, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the road directly with the mountains, about three leagues from the first island where we had anchored."

Capt. Williams having occasion to pass along our Eastern shore, goes to the very position, where Capt. Waymouth anchored on the 19th of May, 1605, made his observations with Dr. Belknap's directions in his hand, and found the Penobscot or Camden hills to be N. N. E., nearly alongshore and not in the main. He then looked, we will suppose, to find "the islands more adjoining to the main, and in the road directly with the mountains about three leagues," and could find none. That is, he could find no islands in the range or road to the Penobscot hills. But on looking north he found St. George's Island Harbor, although in the road or direction of no mountains, and concluded "that this answered the description tolerably well!"

But we will suppose for the present, that Capt. Waymouth did go that way; could it have been said that St. George's Island Harbor was a safe harbor, as we shall soon see the journal describes it "protected from the sea and

winds." Certainly not. It is well known to be otherwise, and is principally used by fishermen and small vessels, and in the summer season. Suppose he went further; could he have reached the Penobscot river, as he must have done according to the journal, without passing the Penobscot or Camden Heights as they are sometimes called? This, no one will affirm.

In proceeding onward to the Penobscot river, it is very probable that Capt. Williams encountered so many objections to the opinion he was to give, that he was obliged to concede, that Captain Waymouth while going up by Long Island in Penobscot Bay, verily supposed that he was in Penobscot river, and that when he reached Old Fort Point he anchored, and that this was the extent of his explorations on the Penobscot. "The codde of the river" where Captain Waymouth "went with his shallop, and marched up into the country towards the mountains, I think," said Capt. Williams, "must be Belfast Bay. The canoe, which came from the further part of the codde of the river eastward, with Indians, I (Capt. W.,) think probably were from Bagaduce." But all this is so improbable, and unsupported by the narrative, that we will now return to the ship Archangel, one league north from Monhegan Island.

We will now proceed to delineate the track which Capt. Waymouth took, when he weighed anchor at twelve o'clock, on the 19th day of May, 1605. We have the same configuration of the shores, from the West S. W. to the East North East. We have the same fishing grounds; we can see the same mountains, and the same scenery, with the summits of many lesser hills, all showing themselves in the distance and up in the main. It was this day probably clear, and the White and Blue mountains in Maine and New Hampshire

were visible, and might have been seen thirty miles further to the eastward, as we are informed by the declarations of old mariners.[1] Captain Waymouth probably took his departure for the White Hills, or the Blue Hills, or other summits of lesser hills which may be found bearing N. W. by W. up into the main; and pursuing this course, sounding in a good depth of water as he went for three leagues, brought the ship in the offing against the *Damariscove Islands*. Here he manned the ship's boat with Thomas Carmen, one of his mates, to sound and search among the islands for a place safe for the ship to ride in; in the meanwhile the ship continued in the offing, until a given signal was made, when the ship followed, and it pleased God to furnish them with a fine harbor, far exceeding their expectations, in a safe berth, defended from all winds, in an excellent depth of water. "We all praised God," says the journal, "for his unspeakable goodness in directing us into so secure a harbor; in remembrance whereof, we named it *Pentecost Harbor*."

To a person well acquainted with the coast, the several inlets, the harbors, and islands, there cannot be the least shadow of doubt that this Pentecost Harbor, is that afterwards called Townsend Harbor, now Booth Bay. The descriptions of the two correspond in every particular, each with the other. And as we proceed with the journal other evidences will be found, which will make the parallel, if possible, more perfect and conclusive. Here Capt. Waymouth landed, and found evidence or rather indications that there were natives in the vicinity. They also found good watering-places, at a convenient distance from the ships. A suita-

[1] Capt. C. Martin and Capt. I. Johnson, of Brunswtck.

ble place on the island was selected to set up their pinnace, which they brought in pieces from England.

From the 24th of May to the 30th, all were employed in different ways—the ship was to be taken care of,—the pinnace to be finished,—wells were to be dug,—fish of various kinds, which were very abundant, were to be caught for their daily subsistence,—timber and spars were to be cut, and carried on board the ship—all found employment, and all were delighted with the good prospect which had opened before them, and went about their several duties with alacrity and cheerfulness. In the meanwhile the Captain was engaged in the survey of the harbor, and taking soundings about the islands, and among the rocks, and superintending everything that was to be done. Each day brought to their view new scenes of pleasure and comfort, and some of the men desired to make their abode in this place. Some planted a few garden seeds, which in a few days began to vegetate and grow.

Some of the men, armed for defence, landed upon two islands, and travelled the length of them both. The largest was estimated to be from four to five miles in compass, and a mile wide. The larger is supposed to be Cape-Newagen; the lesser Squirell Island.

On Thursday, the 30th of May, at 10 o'clock, A. M., the pinnace being completed, and well furnished for an excursion of discovery, the Capt., with thirteen men, in the name of God, and with the prayers of all, took their departure from the ship, leaving it well-moored and carefully provided for, in a good harbor, and in the care of fourteen men.

This same day after the departure of the Captain, three canoes were seen coming from the main, and landing their men on one of the adjoining islands, who kindled a fire, and

while they stood warming themselves, and gazing at the ship, those on board made signs to them to come on board. One canoe, with three of the natives, soon started, and boldly approaching the ship, addressed them with violent gesticulations; but what they meant by it, they did not understand. They were, however, soon induced by the exhibition of trinkets to come on board. This was the first they had seen of the natives, and they were treated with the greatest civility and kindness. These were soon followed by others, and a brisk trade was carried on for this day, and an arrangement entered into for a continuation of exhange of their commodities for fur and peltry. There was one among them who seemed from his appearance and the decorations about his person to be of a rank above the others, and he attracted more attention from the crew. I introduce this personage, because he is known by us as the one who afterwards refused to be pawned, and through whose movement we may show the direction in which the ship is going or intends to proceed.

About 10 o'clock the next morning, after an absence of only twenty-four hours, the pinnace was seen returning to the ship, and as they neared, they fired three muskets, and continued to fire them, as a token of their good success; whereupon the ship in response fired the large gun. The Captain, as soon as he reached the vessel, gave the information, that he had in the short time of his absence, discovered "a great river, which trended into the main about forty miles." Although this was the fact, that it trended so far and much farther, *he does not say that he went that distance;* it was rather an inference or conclusion from what he had seen of the flow of the water, and the run of the tide, the mixture of fresh and salt water. But as far as he

went, he represented it as an excellent river, and especially valuable for trade and commerce, as well as affording all the advantages that could be derived for the establishment of a colony. He went up the river as far as where it began to narrow, which brought the forest so near them on both sides, as to endanger them from the arrows of the natives, if they should be so inclined. Hence, he resolved that it would be more prudent to return to the ship, and that when they explored the river they should be prepared for any emergency.

It may be well to remark here, that although he was in this instance, nearer correct, as to distance, than might have been expected, yet we are, as a general rule, to limit the distance by the time taken to perform the voyage. In traveling in any unfrequented region, especially where the mind is occupied and deeply interested in objects and scenery around, we are naturally prone to make no account of distance; it may be exaggerated, or very much diminished. So in going up a river, with or against a strong current, we may very much overrate, or fall short, in the actual distance; the principal danger, however, is in the former. We have an instance in this same river: Soon after Capt. Popham arrived at the mouth of the Sagadahoc river, on the 17th of August, he, with Captain Gilbert, "sailed up into the river near forty leagues," and returned at night. This must be an error; and such errors are not uncommon. On the supposition that the ship of Capt. Waymouth lay in Townsend Harbor, the distance to the mouth of the river would not exceed twelve miles, and then to have gone up forty miles, would have been too far for one day; we must therefore limit the distance to the time taken to accomplish it, and conclude that he did not go more than forty miles from the ship.

Before returning to the great and newly discovered river, the Captain determined to spend a few days at and about his own harbor, the Pentecost. While the daily routine of business was going on about the ship, he resolved to take five or six of the natives to England with him, that they might be taught habits of civilization. There had been a continual intercourse between the ship and the natives, and some of them were rather disposed to loiter, and stay on board, and three of them had taken their canoes with their bows and arrows into the ship. There was a constant interchange of visits kept up between the natives and the ship's company, and all seemed friendly and kind. The native we have before mentioned as being of rank superior to the others, and whose movements we must notice, proposed to the Captain "that he should go on shore and trade." The invitation was accepted, provided *he* would remain on board, as a pawn for his return to the ship. This proposition was utterly refused, but he offered to leave a young Indian; and the Captain sent Owen Griffin in exchange. This being arranged, Owen went on shore, and found they had no articles of trade. He went a short distance into the woods near by, and to his surprise found a large number of Indians with their bows and arrows, and with dogs and tamed wolves. As they had been in the habit of counting the men in the ship, Griffin counted the natives in their armor. He found they numbered two hundred and eighty-four. On his return the information excited the suspicions of the Captain, who had been before doubtful of their sincerity and honesty. He at once concluded to retain those already on board, and sent on shore and procured two more men, but not without some difficulty. The five being secured below, and their canoes taken care of, the

Captain determined to make preparations for his immediate departure for the river.

Saturday, June 8. Captain Waymouth surveyed all about the islands and among the rocks, particularly those which always appeared above water, for five or six miles. Upon one of the islands which had a pleasant sandy cove where small vessels could anchor, he landed, and found hard by a pond of fresh water which flowed over the bank. Looking further up the island, he found a strong run of water, which with a little labor might be made to carry a mill. Here is another marked and strong evidence that Townsend is the Pentecost Harbor of Captain Waymouth. It is a well known fact, that this island is now called *Squirrel Island*, with its *sandy cove* and *fresh water pond*. Another very remarkable peculiarity of this harbor, which appears in the narrative is, that if any bound for this harbor, should either be driven or wanted with wind, he may be able with the directions given to recover his harbor, most securely, in water enough by *four several passages*. By inquiry of those of our[1] citizens who are, and who have been long acquainted with Townsend harbor, Monhegan, and with the coast and vicinity, the remarkable coincidence of the description with that harbor, is observed, and is so striking that they are perfectly satisfied that they are one and the same.

The Indian of whom we have remarked as being of superior rank, and who had refused to be a pawn for Captain Waymouth, "appears again *coming from the eastward*, and with him six others who had never before visited the ship." They were bearers of a message from the Bashaba at Pe-

[1] Jotham Johnson, Esq., is particularly referred to, who has been for many years well acquainted with the coast and islands.

nobscot desiring that Captain Waymouth would come there and trade. The six discovered no knowledge of the *five* who were secured and secreted in the ship. But the Capt. had strong suspicions that their design was to rescue at least one of them; but being wary of them, their continuance on board was not encouraged, and they soon left. But they continued their course westward following the ship.

"On Tuesday, 11th of June, we passed up into the river with the ship, about twenty-six miles." If this includes the distance from the harbor from which he started, it will not be out of the way to suppose, that when he went up, he anchored opposite what is now the city of Bath, near the railroad depot. Of the passage up the river the author gives a very glowing description, and remarks that he had rather not write, than by his relation to detract from the worthiness thereof for habitation and planting. The river is represented as every way superior to the Rio Grande, the Loire, the Seine or the Bordeaux in France. Wednesday morning, June 12, the Captain, desirous of visiting the shore, that he might know the quality of the soil, the growth and the general character of the land for purposes of husbandry, took his boat with seventeen men and a boy, all in their armor, went up the river a short distance, and landed, leaving six men to take care of the boat, until their return. "We went on our course towards the mountains we discovered when we first came in sight of the land; to some of them the river had brought us within a league. After landing we proceeded three or four miles into the maine, and passed over three hills; but the weather being so hot, and the men in their armor found it so fatiguing, we resolved to pass no further. In our progress we passed over very good ground, pleasant and fertile, fit for pasture, for the space of some three

miles, having but little wood, and that oak, like that which stands left in our pastures in England, good and great, fit timber for any use. Some small birch, hazel and brake, which could easily be cleared away, and made good arable land; as it now is it would feed cattle of all kinds with fodder enough for summer and winter. The soil is black, bearing sundry herbs, grass and strawberries. In many places are low thickets, like our copses of small thick young wood. It resembled a stately park with many old trees, some with withered tops, and some flourishing with their green boughs. Upon the hills were remarkably high timber trees, masts for ships of four hundred tons, and at the bottom of every hill a little run of fresh water, the furthest with a great stream able to drive a mill."

"While we were returning to our ship, we discovered a canoe, coming from the further part of the river, a cove or codde *Eastward*, which made great haste to reach the ship. In which canoe was he who refused to be pawned, with two others. *They had followed us coming from the Eastward*, toward the ship; they most earnestly entreated us to come on shore and spend the night with their Bashaba, who they signified would the next morning come to the ship and trade with them." But Captain Waymouth believed this another attempt to rescue by deceit and dishonest management one or more of the natives secured and secreted on board of the ship; who were probably related to the one recognized as having "refused to be a pawn." It will here be particularly noted that this canoe was on the opposite side of the river, coming from the codde or cove of the river eastward, or more probably coming from the inland passage from Townsend to the Sagadahoc, which is a *decisive indication* that the course of the ship since leaving Monhegan was westerly, in the

road to the mountains which were discerned far up into the main, and *by some* of the hills which the ship passed, on its way up the river, and others which were traveled over when they marched three or four miles into the country.

Thursday morning, June 13th. In order to take advantage of the tide, the Captain, with his boat well provided with armor, powder and shot, and with all that was necessary both for defense and offense, started at two o'clock in the morning for that part of the river which trended westward in the main, to explore the same. He took with him a cross to erect upon the point. When he arrived there, it was still dark, and he left the cross to be erected when he returned. "For this, by the way," says Rosier, "we dili-"gently observed, that no place either about the islands, or "up in the main, or along the river, we could discover any "token or sign that ever any christian had been before, of "which either by cutting wood, or digging for water, or set-"ting up crosses, a thing never omitted by any christian "traveler, we should have seen some mention of it." It has been affirmed that Sieur de Monts, in taking possession of his patent from Henry IV, of France, had been here and taken possession of the Kennebec, and set up a cross. Upon this subject we shall have occasion to take further notice when it will be attempted to put this matter in its proper light. It may be well here to notice, that in taking a stand point at this turn of the river westward into the main, no other ingress of any river can be seen,—that the Kennebec is closed from view by the projecting of a long neck of land, which accounts for both Waymouth and Popham not knowing of such a river, when they came to what is now called Chop's point. They had been informed of it, but could not find it.

To return to that part of this river, which trended west into the main. The journal states that they went up from the ship about twenty miles. As was customary in these early days, this was a large estimate; it could not have exceeded twelve miles. They went up no farther than passing over about "seven miles of the fresh water" river. This probably brought them as far as the narrows in Brunswick, where Gen. Humphreys has his steam mills. In going up the river it was remarked that on the easterly side the land was rather low, the soil good, the growth chiefly oak with small white birches. There was good meadow bordering on the shore, some pieces of four or five acres yielding good grass—and sundry small rivers trending into the main. Respecting the goodness and beauty of the river the journal continues—"I cannot by relation sufficiently demonstrate." "That which I can say in general is this: what profit or pleasure soever is described and truly verified in the former part of the river, is wholly doubled in this." He returned on the ebb of the tide to the point where he had left the cross, and erected it. This is now called Chop's point. This river cannot possibly be any other than the Androscoggin, formerly the Pejepscot, and originally the continuation of the Sagadahock, as called by the French before this period. Capt. Waymouth returned to the ship, moored near where the Kennebec and Portland Rail road depot now stands. We have selected this place from the consideration of the following facts: The distance from Pentecost Harbor, otherwise Townsend, being twenty-six miles; also from the fact, that the canoe which followed the ship was discovered in coming from the inland passage from Townsend; and lastly the consideration of the time the boat was in going up to the

turn of the river, which was from 2 o'clock in the morning to some time before it was day.

"Friday, June 14, at four o'clock in the morning, with the tide, our two boats, and a little help of the wind we rowed down to the mouth of the river, and there came to anchor about eleven o'clock." The remainder of the day the Capt. continued his survey of the mouth of the river, examining the ledges and islands and taking the soundings, and all that was necessary to make a perfect directory about the mouth and up the river.

"The next day being Saturday, we weighed anchor and with a breeze from the land we went up to our Pentecost Harbor. Here we filled our empty casks and procured such other necessaries as would be needful on our return voyage." In the meanwhile the Captain finished his survey and description of the Harbor.

"Sunday, June 16. The wind being fair we set sail on our return home, and on the 18th of July arrived at Dartmouth the harbor we had left."

Before giving any further account of what was done in England, consequent upon the return of Captain Waymouth, and a knowledge of his discoveries, it may not be irrelevant to state, what the French were doing towards acquiring a knowledge, if not a possession of our territories. It may be asserted, that the French were the earliest visiters, and the first to acquire a knowledge of our geography; the first who became acquainted with the natives, and to introduce the trade in fur and peltry, in exchange for European fabrics. They were naturally more genial in their dispositions, manners and characters, and easily assimilated themselves to the habits and peculiarities of the natives. They acquired their confidence and good will, and made themselves

always welcome in their visits. Having in the latter half of the sixteenth century landed in great numbers for the purposes of fishing and trade at Nova Scotia and about Canso, they penetrated into the wilds of Maine: and wherever the Indians traveled, they would travel. Their language too was such as the natives more easily understood, and was more available in their familiar intercourse, than that of other nations. There was a Patent [1] given by Henry IV. of France for the possession and government of Acadia, to Sieur De Mont, dated at Fontainbleau, Nov. 8, 1603. This embraced the adjoining countries, from latitude 46° to 40°—from somewhere about Canso to Mallebarre, as it was called by the French prior to this period, since called Cape Cod. This Patent recites facts, which go to show a considerable knowledge of the geography of this portion of the country. Their sources of information must have been derived from Catholic missionaries, travelers and traders, who had traversed the country, and along our coasts, for various objects, and in different employments. The Patentee himself, had a personal "knowledge of the country from the frequent visits and travels he had made in the territory," by which means he had become acquainted with its geography and its extent, its resources, trade and condition. All this may be rendered probable, when it is borne in mind, that the trails [2] of the Indians afforded the French great facilities in traveling along on the shore, and in the interior of the country, up our principal rivers. These century trodden paths—these Indian roads, may be delineated on our maps with the aid of a traditionary knowledge of the many carrying

[1] See Hazzard, vol. i. page 45.

[2] Rale, in 1697, followed a trail from Quebec to Illinoi, a distance of 2100 miles. *Francis.*

places, and portages, which were to be found along our shores, and up our rivers, and towards any Indian settlement. Wherever found, they may either be connected with the general course of the main trail, or they may have a more particular direction up some river, or to some village, or fishing place, aside of the main path. These trails probably extended from Nova Scotia to Georgia, and were so plain as to be easily followed. It will appear then not improbable, that the knowledge which the French had of this country might have been as extensive as the Patent alleges. A knowledge of these Indian paths is important in fixing many localities which have been involved in much doubt and perplexity, and in explaining many facts and circumstances which would otherwise have been inexplicable. We are led to believe from the few inquiries we have made, that a considerable approximation may be made toward the discovery of these ancient paths. They have done it in western New York with much more accuracy, than we can here. It may be done here with sufficient correctness to answer the historical purpose we desire. We are satisfied, that the Indian path coming from the Penobscot and further eastward, came down St. George's river to New Harbor, an ancient traditionary carrying place and portage to Pemaquid Fort.—Here to avoid a rough and dangerous navigation around Pemaquid and Small Point, into Casco Bay—the trail turns off for Pemaquid Fort, thence up Damariscotta over to a carrying place and portage, to the Sheepscot waters. In this vicinity it is supposed, that there was formerly a great thoroughfare, and Indian villages of considerable importance. This is made evident from the immense piles of [1] oyster-

[1] See deposition of Elisha Winslow who states that oysters continued in the river and were found there in the last century. Dep. in Library of M. Historical Society.

shells and many reliques of ancient times, places of burial of the dead, and of by-gone villages. Hence, while the main trail proceeded up the Sheepscot waters toward Eastern river, the Kennebec and Merrymeeting Bay, there was probably a branch that went to the Teconnet Falls, the upper Kennebeck. The western trail, proceeding westward, went up Merrymeeting Bay, and Androscoggin river to Brunswick at Pejepscot Falls, thence by a portage of three miles, to the smooth water of Casco Bay, thence down the Bay to Portland or Cape Elizabeth, and so onward.

In this course of the trail and portages from New Harbor to Cape Elizabeth, the distance is not much increased, if at all, above the distance of going round Pemaquid and Small Point,—yet it is obviously a direct and more convenient route, passing over two important inland rivers, connecting them with the main trail. In this way we may understand how the two [1] French Jesuits, in coasting up from Mount Desert, happened to fall among the tribe of Indians which they called the Cannabas, situated on the Kennebeck, for its western boundary, and extending eastward to the ocean. Among this tribe they labored, imparting their spiritual benefits, and in return received substantial benefits for their famishing brethren at Mount Desert. It is asserted that the Cannabas tribe visited by these Jesuits must be located here, being in proximity with the coast trail and Kennebeck river. This was probably one of the most numerous and powerful tribes in this region of country. This opinion seems to be supported by the consideration of the fact, that Capt. Waymouth in this immediate vicinity found two hundred and eighty-four fighting men collected near his ship, while at anchor at his Pentecost Harbor. It is further probable, that the five na-

[1] Lincoln's papers published in the 1st volume of the Collection of Maine.

tives taken by Captain Waymouth and carried to England, were of this tribe or taken among them. And here we will remark, that one of these native Indians, named Nahanada, the next year returned to his people, having piloted Capt. Pring to the Sagadahock and vicinity, the place of his nativity. When Popham arrived, which was the following year, he found this same Nahanada, who had taken a wife and had been made a Sachem, subject to the Bashaba at Pemaquid and Penobscot. This tribe must have soon after become extinct by means of the destructive plague and the sanguinary wars which swept away all the tribes from the Penobscot to the Narraganset. The historical fact, that Nahanada piloted Capt. Pring to the Sagadahock as the place of his nativity is a very strong testimony, that Capt. Waymouth's discovery was the Sagadahock.

We will now return to Sieur De Mont, his Patent and his arrival on the coast of Maine to take possession. We find him at[1] St. Croix, where he arrived, in the Autumn of 1604, and where he spent the winter. During the long season of intense cold, and severe weather, most of his men were taken down with scurvy, and thirty-five of seventy died, and the remainder were very much enfeebled. On the approach of milder weather, and the invigorating influence of early vegetation, his men improved, and became convalescent. He feels encouraged to proceed westward to find a warmer climate, and to effect the possession of the territory embraced in his grant. For this purpose he procures a pinnace, or small vessel, that he might the better feel his way along an unknown and unexplored coast, with a rocky and dangerous shore, and visit the several places of his previous acquaintance. At what time he sailed we are not in-

[1] Notice De Mont, Belknap Biography, i. vol.

formed, and are left to conjecture. It was as early as the season and the health of his men would permit; probably about the middle of May. He coasted westward to a place called Norumbega, in Penobscot Bay, which had been long familiar to the French. Thence he sailed to the Kennebeck, another place with which he had been acquainted, and next sailed to Casco Bay, Saco and finally to Malleharre afterward called Cape Cod. A question may now be suggested which may show the position of De Mont in reference to Capt. Waymouth:—How and in what way did he (De Mont) approach the Kennebeck—whether by the way of Damariscotta, or the river of Sagadahock? We have no reason to believe the latter was ever discovered or even entered until the 30th of May, when Capt. Waymouth discovered it. The continuation of the Sagadahock in its inclination to the west might have been known before, because it was on the trail, or way of the travel westward. The name of Sagadahock was never used for, or confounded with the name of Kennebeck, until many years after this time. It is therefore to be understood that De Mont went as near the inland river Kennebeck, as he could approach it. This previous acquaintance with the river, and the way of access to it, would naturally incline and direct him to the great thoroughfare and settlement at Damariscotta, and there can be no doubt but it was in this way that he reached the Kennebeck, no other way being known to him. Allowing De Mont all reasonable time, he must have been at the Kennebeck the last of May, or the first of June; while at the same time Captain Waymouth was at his harbor Pentecost, or Booth Bay,—or exploring the Sagadahock river, setting up crosses. Certainly De Mont was not at either of these places; if he had been, he would have met with Captain Waymouth. There-

fore each party was where the history reports them—De Mont at the inland Kennebeck, or at Damariscotta, the avenue to it, and Captain Waymouth at the Sagadahock.

Soon after this early period, the western boundary of Acadia was established by a line drawn from the river Pemaquid to the egress of the Kennebeck into Merrymeeting Bay, and so up said Bay and the [1] Sagadahock. As this boundary excludes the reported discoveries of Captain Waymouth, may we not presume, from the long acquiescence in this line, that it had been adjusted by diplomacy between the two governments of France and England.

The knowledge we have of the French possessions in this State is very limited, and much of what we have is very indefinite, which involves much of hypothetical explanation; but there is evidence that there is much to be known on the subject in the Historical Archives of France; and may we not hope, ere long, that these resources may be opened and spread before the public.

We may state further respecting Damariscotta and Sheepscot being the avenue to the Kennebec river, that it continued so a part of the seventeenth century, before the Sagadahock was used in entering the Kennebeck. When vessels commenced passing through the Sagadahock to go into the Kennebeck, the Government of Pemaquid authorized the erection of a Block house to serve as a house for the receipt of custom, at the point on Merrymeeting Bay where the Kennebec entered. This place was likewise used for the purpose of trade. As late as 1692 Sir Wm. Phips sent Major Church[2] to Pemaquid on his way to the

[1] As the French claim, as being their boundary—that is what is now called Androscoggin river.

[2] Church's Expedition, page 136.

Kennebec to chastize the Indians at Cushnoc and Teconnet. After effecting his object and destroying their villages, he returned to Pemaquid. When Capt. Converse went with troops to the Kennebeck he went to Sheepscot—thence through the woods to Teconnet Falls. The manner of expression used by Hubbard in his history, "beyond the Sheepscot," may be understood up the Kennebec. By dint of custom the Sheepscot and Damariscotta region continued a very long time the seaport of that river, and was the place of clearance and entry, and of all the business of the upper part of the river. The late Mr. Charles Vaughan, of Hallowell, made the attempt to have the sea port, the place of entry, &c.,[1] "at Jones' Eddy." But the present location of the city of Bath was preferred by the public, and the Custom house for the Kennebeck as now understood, was established at Bath; which was, it is believed, in 1796 or 7.

From the observations which have been made, in explanation of the knowledge and possession of the French, it appears to have been very little more, than traveling over the country as the natives traveled, teaching and promulgating the doctrines of Romanism, and merely trading in fur and peltry. There is nothing in all this which interferes with the represented discoveries of Capt. Waymouth. We shall now proceed to show the result of the voyage, and the further transactions growing out of it, and where history locates the great river discovered.

Not long before the return of Capt. Waymouth, Lord Arundell and the Earl of Southampton, being pressed with other cares and engagements, resolved to dispose of their interest in the expedition, and passed it over into the hands

[1] Sullivan, Maine, p. 174. See Mr. Gardiner's communication in 2d vol. of Maine Collections.

of Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and their associates. The terms and conditions of the transfer are not known. A few days after the transaction, Captain Waymouth arrived in the harbor of Bristol, and very soon after the successful result of the voyage was announced—that he had discovered and explored a great river, with superior advantages for the establishment of a colony, and had brought home five of the native inhabitants. Two of them, Dehamida and Nahanada, he delivered to the Lord Chief Justice, and the three others he gave Sir Ferdinando, viz :— Assacumet, Skitwarroes and Tasquantum.

The novel and interesting appearance of the natives, the representations of Captain Waymouth, and the glowing description of Rosier, gave great interest to the enterprise, and encouraged the prospect of a lucrative business, by opening a new channel for trade and commerce. The company immediately petition the Crown for Letters Patent. Their prayer was favorably received, and a charter granted for two colonies. The first was called the London Company, the second the Plymouth Company.[1] The field of operation of both are north of the equator. The boundaries of the former are between the parallels of latitude 34° and 41°— and of the latter between 38° and 45°.—the one last settled not to be within one hundred English miles of the other. The Patent seems to have originated immediately from the successful discoveries of Waymouth, and the perseverance of Lord Chief Justice Popham and Sir Ferdinando. The reason for inserting both in the same instrument is not given. Both companies are immediately organized. Both immediately commence preparation for colonizing. We must now be indebted to Wm. Strachey for some facts, which

[1] Sometimes South Virginia and North Virginia Company.

are no where else recorded, and which have been recently published from the *Hakluyt* Collections. In his account of the Popham Expedition and Colony, he prefaces it with an epitome of Capt. Geo. Waymouth's voyage and discoveries, it being the object of the Popham Expedition, to colonize the country which Waymouth had discovered and explored. In this epitome the fact is disclosed, and the matter is settled beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it was the Sagadahock river which Capt. Waymouth discovered. A ship is immediately procured to carry out a Colony. The Commander selected was Capt. Henry Chalounge. The Colony were placed on board, and every thing prepared. Two of Capt. Waymouth's natives were placed on board to pilot the ship after arriving at the American Continent, to the places of their nativity from whence they were taken. Capt. Chalounge received his directions to pursue a westerly course to Cape Bretton directly across the Atlantic, as Capt. Pring, in his first voyage had done two or three years before. The ship was destined to the Sagadahock. Immediately on leaving his port, he concluded to lay aside his orders and go by the western islands. He was taken by a Spanish fleet from Cuba,—the crew and Colonists made prisoners, the object of the voyage frustrated, and all was lost. Sir Ferdinando particularly laments the loss of the two Indians. A few days after Chalounge had sailed, the Lord Chief Justice caused another ship to be fitted out, as a consort to the former, and with a few colonists, and additional supplies. He likewise had two natives on board to pilot the ship to the place of their nativity after reaching the American shores. On board of this ship were Capt. Hanan, and Martin Pring as Commander. They received the same direction as had been given to Chalounge. Their

place of destination was the Sagadahock, as before. Both expeditions sailed in Aug., 1606. Pring sailed directly across as he had done before, to the American coast, and was piloted to the Sagadahock by his natives.[1] On arriving he found that Chalounge had not arrived, and no colony there. He explored the river and its vicinity, and having done all that he could to further the object of the Company, concluded to return. He left Nahanada, one of his native pilots, who chose to remain at his home rather than return. Capt. Pring returned to England, and found the Company and the public greatly discouraged at the diastrous result of Chalounge's ship and colony. He gave them, if possible, a more favorable account of his voyage and explorations of the Sagadahock than Waymouth had done. This favorable report inspired the Company with new life and courage and energy, and notwithstanding the loss which it had sustained, it once more resolved to fit out another expedition, with a larger Colony, and more means, to settle at the river Sagadahock. The Company procured two vessels, one under the command of George Popham, and the other under Capt. Raleigh Gilbert. They took two natives with them, sailed in June, and arrived at the Sagadahock on the 15th of August, 1607. The first vessel under the London Company, commanded by Christopher Newport, arrived at Jamestown the 26th of April, 1607. It would seem from this, that the Plymouth Company was not behind her rival in activity and energy, although unfortunate in the result of their expeditino.

We will here take notice of an interesting incident, which took place while the ships were in the neighborhood of

[1] Belknap's Biography, 2d vol. page 102, Article Gosnold; also page 123, article Pring.

Pemaquid, feeling along as they went, on an unknown shore, which is strongly indicative of its being the place of discovery of Capt. Waymouth. Capt. Gilbert having dropped his anchor, sent his boat with fourteen men and Skitwarroes to guide them to Pemaquid river, where was a village of one hundred men, women and children. The natives on the approach of the boat, in their fright, seized their bows and arrows for defence. On landing Skitwarroes went forward, and immediately Nahanada and Skitwarroes recognizing each other had a happy meeting and joyous time. Nahanada very soon made a visit to Popham's ship, together with others of the natives, and among them Sassanoa, a Sachem on the Kennebeck. They were all treated with kind hospitality of course, and Sassanoa invited them in return to visit him, at his residence. On the 28th of Sept., more than a month after, Capt. Gilbert with seventeen men left the mouth of the river where they had commenced their settlement, to explore the head of the river Sagadahock. "On the morning of the 25th, they came to a flat low island, where was a great cataract, or downfall of water, which runneth by on both sides of the island, very shoal and swift." This can be no other than what has been subsequently called Pejepscot Falls, at Brunswick. They dragged their boat over the rapids, and went a league further up, where they tarried that night. In the morning they met a Sagamore, who called himself the Lord of the Sagadahock, went a league further up, and could go no further on account of impassable rapids. This answers to Little River Falls, Lisbon. But some of them went a league further on the land to a settlement, which must be at Sabattis river, where they found nearly forty able-bodied Indians. They returned that night to where they tarried the night before. Here they set up

a cross. They returned toward home the next day—"in the way seeking the by river of some note called Sassanoa." This day and the next they spent in looking for the river Sassanoa, or where Sassanoa lived, and was the Sachem; but could not find it, and returned to the ship. This river must be the Kennebeck. This is the fact which we have before alluded to, as showing that neither Waymouth or Popham knew anything of the inland river Kennebeck.

The Popham Colony continued at the mouth of the Sagadahock, at the peninsula, or as it has been recently called, Hunnewell's Point, about a year. Their President having died, and believing the climate too inhospitable for the Colony, they embraced the first opportunity to return. The unexpected return of the Colony disappointed the hopes of the Company and blasted their prospects for time to come. They became discouraged, and abandoned all hopes of any advantage of a Colony at Sagadahock. The Company continued to linger, sending occasionally, perhaps every year, a ship or two for the purposes of fishery, until 1620, when they came to the opinion, that they might flourish better under a new Patent. Sir Ferdinando Gorges as Agent for the Old Company, presents a petition to the King for a new Patent with more extensive rights and powers, which were granted. The new charter recognizing the Old Patent and the rights under it, with an enlargement of territory, premises, as a reason for granting the same, "that the country had "lately experienced, under a visitation from God, an uncom- "mon desolation by a destructive plague and horrible slaugh- "ter and murders among the savages, and that none other but "English subjects have any possessions within that territory; "further, that many places for leagues had no native inhabi- "tants to challenge any interest in the lands—and believ-

"ing, that the appointed time is come, in which Almighty "God has determined to settle these waste places, and ren- "dering thanks to the same Almighty God, that he has re- "vealed and laid open these facts to us before any other "Prince or State." These are the alleged reasons for granting their Charter with increased territories.

The old Patent, and the new Patent substituted for it, with increased powers and extent of country, were both concurrent; both Companies are identically the same, with but one object—the settlement of all the territory included between the parallels of north latitude 40° and 48°. This is now, for the first time, called *New England*, and the Company, instead of the name of the Plymouth Company, is in future to be called by the name of "the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for planting, ruling and governing New England in America." This Company had its origin from the discovery of Captain George Waymouth in May, 1605, and was in its early existence controlled and managed for the greater part, by the commanding influence of Lord Chief Justice Popham, and the untiring industry and perseverance of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. This Patent and Company have been the broad foundation of all the other grants made in New England, and which have prepared the way for all subsequent grants and the settlement of the country generally.

If this be the right state of the case, how undeserving has Capt. Waymouth ever been of the disparaging views entertained of the consequences of his voyage, and of the statement that[1] "his voyage is memorable *only* for the discov- "ery of the Penobscot river, and for the decoying of some "of the natives on board his ship whom he carried to Eng-

[1] See Belknap Biography, Article Waymouth.

land." Especially when it is considered, that these natives were all returned to their native land, and some to their own homes, doubtless improved in character, and usefulness to themselves and their fellow countrymen.

In what we have written we have endeavored to make it appear, that beyond a doubt, the Pentecost harbor of Capt. Waymouth, was what we now call Boothbay or Townsend, and not St. George's Island Harbor; and the river which he discovered and explored was the Sagadahock, and not the Penobscot. We have endeavored to show further, that the Kennebeck was an inland river, that its mouth was at Merry-meeting Bay, and the way of access to it was by the Damariscotta and Sheepscot; that it was unknown to Waymouth and Popham, and must have been known and claimed by the French a long time before. It further appears that Capt. Waymouth's voyage to the Sagadahock, and those voyages subsequent, were one and the same concern, part and parcel of the same enterprise, beginning under the favorable auspices of Lord Arundel, and ending in the disastrous result of the Popham Colony, all under the superintendance and expense of the Plymouth Company; and the same Company, after being prostrated and discouraged for some years, at length was resuscitated, took a new patent, recognizing the rights and claims of the old company, and afterwards went by its new name, and continued to make grants to the several Colonies, which have been the broad basis on which future grants and all the settlements of New England have been made.

ARTICLE V.

A LETTER FROM GEORGE POPHAM,

PRESIDENT OF THE

SAGADAHOCK COLONY,

TO

KING JAMES I.

DATED DECEMBER 13, 1607.

WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

POPHAM'S LETTER TO KING JAMES I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The Hon. George Bancroft has kindly presented to the Society for publication, an office copy of an original letter in Latin, from George Popham, President of the Sagadahock Colony, to King James, written at the mouth of the Kennebec river, December 13, 1607. A document so unique, relating to a portion of our State, yet going back to a period prior to any permanent settlement within it, must possess a peculiar interest for our people.

An extraordinary excitement prevailed in England in the latter part of the 16th century and the opening of the 17th, in regard to the newly discovered regions lying far off in the western ocean. The early voyagers had carried home marvellous stories of the countries they had visited; their imaginations were greatly moved by the novelty of the scenery, and the strange appearance and manners of the natives. Communicating in an extravagant style, no doubt, their own warm impressions, a spirit of adventure soon pervaded all ranks in England: the highest were not beyond the reach of its fascination, and the masses felt its extraordinary power. Nor, indeed, was the sober, religious community, passive under the deep current of popular feeling. For while other classes were excited by a love of gain, or a

spirit of adventure, the religious sentiment was aroused by a deep seated conviction, that Providence had wonderfully opened a door for the conversion of the Heathen. These causes united, produced a movement in the public mind, which had not been witnessed since the days of the crusades, and which has been scarcely paralleled in our time by the discovery of the modern Cathay, on the western coast of America.

When such men as Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earl of Arundell, Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, among the noblest cavaliers, in an age of chivalry, took the lead in expeditions to the new found world, lesser men may readily be supposed willing to follow in their train. A different class, some years later, moved by the high motive of religious freedom, as well as civil independence, clustered on our shores, and laid the foundation of those elevated and permanent institutions, which have been, and God grant, may ever be, the crowning glory of our country.

The very successful voyage of Waymouth, began and ended in 1605, gave a new impulse to the cause of colonization. Those adventurers came to our coast at the most propitious season of the year, from the latter part of May to the middle of June. The part of the coast visited, is the most beautiful in New England, the region between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers. Here, these rude sons of the ocean, after being tossed in their small bark for many days, found a clear transparent air, a calm sea, safe shelter among numerous islands, covered with verdant forests, and lying like gems on the serene bosom of the ocean. They went up a goodly river filled "with gallant coves," and "fit dockes to carine shippes of all burdens, secured from all

winds, so incomparable a benefit, that in few places in England, art with great charges, can make the like." "Besides, the bordering land most commodious and fertile, trending all along in an equal plain, verged with a border of grasse, so making tender unto the eye of the surveyor her fertility and pleasure."

These sweet images strongly impressed upon the minds of the discoverers, were not weakened by the return voyage, which was short and prosperous.

They arrived on the 18th of July, in England, and their "goodly report, joining with Capt. Gosnoll's, caused the business with prosperous and faire starrs to be accompanied." The fine old English gentlemen and the high born cavaliers, Warwick and Southampton, the Pophams, Gorges, Raleigh, the noblest Roman of them all, and the Gilberts, than whom nobler spirits do not adorn the annals of English history, presented an array of adventurers, such as never had appeared before in the cause of colonization. The South and North Virginia Companies were immediately formed, to occupy and replenish the new world.

The precise location of the scenes visited by Waymouth, and described in Rosier's narrative of the voyage, has lately become the subject of disagreement. Dr. Belknap, in his scrupulous love of truth, was anxious to determine the river explored, and the places so minutely described in the narrative. He sent therefore, an experienced navigator, Capt. Williams, previously acquainted with the coast, with Rosier's book in hand, although only an abridged copy, with instructions to compare with the description in the narrative, all the natural scenery of that part of the coast, with a view to determine which was the river discovered by Waymouth. He followed his instructions and reported that

the Penobscot, in his judgment, was the river. That conclusion, reached by a process so careful and judicious, satisfied historical inquirers, and for sixty years, the question has remained at rest.

But Mr. McKeen, in an elaborate and ingenious article contained in this volume, takes entirely opposite ground, and argues with earnestness, that the river of Waymouth was the Kennebec, and not the Penobscot. We cannot coincide in this view, and will offer a few facts from the narrative, and collateral sources, to sustain our opinion.

We place ourselves by the side of the ancient mariner. Waymouth, as he lies in the "Gift of God," on the northerly shore of Monhegan, and before us, "descerne the mayne land and very high mountains." The land surely can be no other than the shore from Pemaquid to Owls Head, and the mountains, the Camden and other heights bordering the Penobscot Bay, which now as then, lift their lofty heads in silent, solemn grandeur before us. The White Mountains lie far to the west, more than 120 miles distant, and can only be seen under favorable circumstances. We follow our Captain "to the isles adjoining to the mayne, and in the road directly with the mountains about three leagues from the first land where we had anchored." These can be no other than the St. Georges and neighboring isles; the distance and direction admirably correspond, and do not correspond with any thing near the Kennebec. Waymouth gave them their name which they have ever since retained. Mr. McKeen contends that these islands to which Waymouth went, are the Damariscove islands. But these lie nearly due west, more than 20 miles distant from Monhegan, and not in the range of any neighboring mountains nor main land. They are, too, the same islands which Waymouth

had passed but a day or two before, to reach Monhegan from Cape Cod. Would he have retraced his steps, when nearer islands, and nearer, and a goodly main lie directly before him, 10 or 12 miles distant?

We accompany the exploring party up the "fayre river trending into the mayne forty miles." We think we are passing up the Penobscot Bay, the islands of Vinalhaven, Northaven, Isleboro and minor islands, forming what the explorers believed to be the east side of the river, and the shore of Thomaston, Rockland, Camden, &c., constituting the west side. The river "is in breadth a myle neare 40 myles, and on both sides, every halfe myle gallant coves to contain in many of them 100 sayle where they may lye in oze without cable or anchor only moored with a hauser, and it *floweth* 18 *feet*." We find nothing so fitly corresponding with this description as the natural features of the Penobscot waters, while one fact in which a navigator would not be likely to be mistaken, viz: the rise of the tide, seems to be almost a conclusive fact in favor of the Penobscot; for in the Kennebec the tide rises but *nine feet*, while in the Penobscot it continues as ever, in spite of theories and conjectures, to flow its 18 feet.

The narrative says, "our men that had seen Oronoke, so famous in the world's ears, Reogrande, &c., though they be great and goodly rivers, yet are not comparable to it." This may more truly be said of the Penobscot Bay, than of the Kennebec. While up the river, they marched toward the mountains, "unto some of them, the river brought us so neare as we judged ourselves *within a league of them*. What mountains? Could they be the White mountains which lay off 100 miles from the Kennebec and out of sight? or those which had spread directly before them, and of which the writer had previously spoken? He says "we marched

towards the mountains we had seene." These Camden heights lie not far from the shore of the bay, in full sight as they sailed up. These facts, so fixed in natural objects, and of course unchangeable, agreeing so well with the description in the narrative, would seem to leave hardly room to doubt where to locate the scene of Waymouth's exploration.

A strong confirmation of the view we have taken, is found in Strachey's account of *Popham's* voyage two years after. These new comers run along the coast from the east and touched at various points, among others, they visited an island which they called St. George, and here they found a cross which was set up by Waymouth. Strachey says, "howbeit, before they put from the island, they found a crosse set up, one of the same which Capt. Waymouth, in his discovery, for all after occasions, left upon this island." Here is an important land-mark, from which we take a new departure in our argument. Where is this island which they called St. George? no other we say than that to which Waymouth gave the same name; and Strachey clearly proves it, for he says, after leaving this island, "Having sayled to the *westward*, about midnight Capt. Gilbert caused his shipp's boat to be mann'd, and rowed to the *westward* from their ship to the river of Pemaquid, which they found to be four leagues distant from the shipp, where she road."

Pemaquid is a permanent point, well known to all navigators to our coast and bearing the same name then as now. Mr. McKeen makes the harbor of *Pentecost* to which Waymouth first went from Monhegan to be Boothbay, which is still *west* of Pemaquid. But this harbor of Pentecost was on the island which he called St. George and on which he set up a cross, and appears, by Strachey, to have been several leagues *east* of Pemaquid, and could not therefore be Booth-

bay, nor, of course, could any island between Pemaquid and the Kennebec, be the St. George, on which Waymouth set up his cross. Besides, Popham's party report no island on which was a cross, west of Pemaquid, which they would not have failed to have done, if any such interesting fact had been found. And he expressly says that Popham's Colony found no trace on the Kennebec of any former visitors, which would be a very singular fact, if Waymouth's party had explored that river but two years before.

At the risk of being charged with tediousness, for which our great desire to assist in establishing the truth of history, must be our apology, we will advert to another fact, which seems to have been relied upon by Mr. McKeen, and is referred to by Mr. Bancroft in his letter accompanying the papers; we mean the fact, of their falling in with one of the Indians which Waymouth had taken with him. Waymouth carried to England five Indians from the neighborhood of the place he had explored. One of them, Strachey calls *Nahanada*, who was brought back the year before, and another *Skidawares*, who came over with Popham. But these Indians were from Pemaquid, Nahanada was a Sagamo there; Strachey says, Capt. Gilbert took Skidawarres and rowed to Pemaquid river, where Skidawares "brought them to the Salvadge's houses, where they found 400 men, women and children, and their commander or Sagamo among them, named Nahanada, who had likewise been brought away to England by Capt. Waymouth." On their next visit to Pemaquid three days after, Skidawares remained with Nahanada. da, declining to return on board the vessel. Soon after the arrival of the Colony in the mouth of the Kennebec, they received a visit from Nahanada and Skidawares. Strachey remarks of them as follows, "Early in the morning the sav-

ages departed in *their canoes* for the river of Pemaquid, promising Capt. Gilbert to accompany him in their canoes to the river of Penobscot, where the Bassaba dwells." Two days after, Gilbert left in his Shallop with merchandize for the Penobscot, and touched at Pemaquid for Nahanada and Skidawares to accompany them, "but, being arrived there, they found that they had all gone from thence unto the river Penobscot before." Other particulars relating to these and other Indians are recited in the course of the narrative, all showing that the Colony was visited both by portions of the tribes on the Kennebec, and those acknowledging the rule of the Bashaba of Penobscot; of the latter class there can be no doubt, from this plain testimony, were those who had been taken to England by Waymouth. They were *not* of the Kennebec tribe. It is also very clear, that there was a frequent and common communication by the Indians between the Penobscot and Kennebec rivers, and those of the intermediate country. If any argument can be derived from the visit of the Indians to the Colony of Popham, it strongly preponderates in favor of the Penobscot theory.

On a careful revision of the facts in the case, we are confirmed in the conviction, that the Penobscot was the river visited by Waymouth and not the Kennebec. We have not touched upon all the points and incidents which Mr. McKeen has ingeniously made subservient to his preconceived theory. Such for instance as the use of the Indian term *Sagadahoc*, which simply means the *mouth of a river*, and was not applied originally to any particular river. But my intention was simply to show that there was another view to be taken of the question than the one advocated by Mr. McKeen; for this purpose I have grouped some of the salient points.—Mr. McKeen does not incline to give the old seamen any

credit for judgment or knowledge; what they give as forty miles he sets down at 20, and when they speak of three leagues he stretches it out to five or six. From their position, experience and education, I think they are intitled to a fair presumption of having an average observation and judgment of things belonging to their profession.

Several adverse circumstances attended upon the northern company; their two well appointed ships under Martin Pring, a skillful navigator, sent out in 1606, were captured by the Spaniards, and the voyage lost. The death of the distinguished Chief Justice, Sir John Popham, the noble head and persevering patron of northern colonization, which took place in 1607, was a severe blow. But he lived long enough to fit out the two ships, "The Gift of God," commanded by his kinsman, Capt. George Popham, who was made President of the new colony, and the "Mary and John," commanded by Capt. Raleigh Gilbert. These two ships freighted "with 120 persons for planters," the necessary articles for trade, for the construction of buildings, for cultivating the soil; a clergyman of the Church of England for the cure of souls, and with the ardent hopes and sympathies of the anxious company at home, left Plymouth in June, 1607.

It is unfortunate that they did not commence their voyage earlier in the season, that they might have had more time for establishing themselves in their new and strange home, before the variable weather of our autumn, and the rigor of winter set in upon men wholly unused to such severity of weather. It was not until the 17th of August, that they arrived in the mouth of the Kennebec. And we cannot but think it especially unfortunate, that they did not seat themselves upon a more eligible spot than that at the

mouth of the river. If they had gone higher up to one of the beautiful meadows and sheltered nooks upon that stream; or, if they had stopped short of the Kennebec, and planted themselves on some of the fine points visited by Waymouth, who will be bold enough to say what would have been the destiny of Maine, and the history of colonization in New England. A permanent colony, thus early planted, in a favorable position on our coast, and none on the whole range of the sea board, could be found more eligible than Maine offered, without stint or condition, to these adventurous men, would have concentrated in that region, the numerous persons, whose love of adventure, or hope of improving their condition, would have driven from the old world to the new.

Other disastrous circumstances, after they were seated at Hunnewell's Point, such as the loss of their provisions by fire, the death of Popham their President, a long and severe winter, and the determination of Capt. Gilbert, who had succeeded Popham, to return on account of the death of his brother, to whose estate he was an heir; produced so discouraging an effect, that the incipient colonization of Maine was abandoned in the summer of 1608, to the great dissatisfaction of the Company at home, and to the injury of the cause of northern colonization. Gorges was free in his reproaches of their pusillanimity, and all the movers in the expedition at home, were sadly disappointed.

The letter of Popham, dated December 13, 1607, in barbarous Latin, is particularly interesting from its being the only direct report that we have from the president of the colony. It is greatly exaggerated in its description of the products of the country, and in its sickening adulation of the pedant King. We search in vain for the "nutmegs,

and cinnamon, and Brazillian cochineal," which he presents as articles of commerce. The letter shows the successful condition of the colony up to the middle of December. The details of its condition afterwards, are not yet disclosed to us, but we presume they must exist in some of the public offices in London. The translation of this interesting document is by President Woods, of Bowdoin College. We now proceed without further comment to lay the papers before our readers. W.

NEWPORT, R. I., August 1, 1857.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT,—

If the Maine Historical Society should hold a meeting on the 5th at Brunswick, pray offer for its acceptance the paper which I enclose. As the oldest extant letter, written on the soil of Maine, it may have some interest for you.

The noble bays of your vicinity competed with the Bay of the Chesapeake in attracting the first colonists of the United States. The document of which you here have a copy, indirectly throws perhaps a little light on the question of the river which Waymouth surveyed; for the Indian who came back with Popham, seems to have been at home in the region of the Kennebeck, which was therefore probably visited by his captors.

I remain, ever, dear President,

your very faithful friend,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

REV. LEONARD WOODS, D. D.,

Brunswick, Maine.

POPHAM'S LETTER.

GEORGE POPHAM TO KING JAMES I.

13 Dec., 1607.

Ad pedes serenissimi regis sui humillime se projecti Georgius Pophamus præsidens secundæ coloniæ Virginiæ. Si divinæ majestatis tuæ placuerit patientiæ a servo observantissimo ac devotissimo quamvis indigno pauca recipere ab altitudinis tuæ claritate vel minimum aliænare arbitror. Quoniam in dei gloriam sublimitatis vestræ amplitudinem et Brittanorum utilitatem reddundare videantur peræquum igitur judicavi magestati tuæ notum fieri quod apud Virginios, et moassones nullus in orbe terrarum magis admiratur quam Dominus Jacobus Brittanorum imperatur propter admirabilem justitiam ac incredibilem constantiam quæ istarum provinciarum nativis non mediocrem perfert, letitiam, dicentibus insuper nullum esse deum vere adorandum preter illum Domini Jacobi, sub cujus ditione atque imperio libenter millitare voluerit. Tahanida unus ex nativis qui Brittaniæ adfuit vestras laudes ac virtutes hic illis illustravit. Quid et quantum in his negocis sub eundis et illorum animis confirmandis. Valerem eorum sit judiciu qui domi voluterunt scienter agnoscens, omnes conatus meosperire, cum incompatione officii debiti erga principem habeantur. Optima me tenet opinio dei gloriam facile in his regionibus elu-

cescere, vestræ magestatis imperium amplificare et Brittanorum rem pub : breviter augmentari quod ad mercimonium attinet, omnes indeginæ constanter affirmant his in esse provinciis nuces amisticas maciam et sinamomum preteria Betumen lignum Brasiliæ Cuchinelam et Ambergetie cum multis aliis magni momenti et valeris eaque maxima quidem abundantia. In super affirmative mecum agunt, esse mare aliquod in adversa vel occidentali hujus provinciæ patriæ non plus septem dierum iteneris spacium a presidio nostro Sancti Georgii in Sagadahoc amplum latum et profundum, cujus terminos prorsus ignorant quod aliud esse non protest nisi australe, tendens ad regiones Chinæ, quæ longe ab his patribus procul dubio esse non possunt. Si igitur placuerit divinos habere occulos tuos apertos in subjecto certificacionis meæ, non dubito quin Celsitudo Vestræ absolvet opus deo gratissimum magnificentiæ honorificum, et repub: tuæ maxime conducibile, quod ardentissimis precibus vehementer exopto: et a deo optimo maximo contendo ut regis mei Domini Jacobi magestatem quam diutissime servat gloriosam. Il presidio Santi Georgii in Sagadahoc de Virginia 13th Decembris 1607.

Servus vestræ magestratis omni modis devotissimus

GEORGIUS POPHAMUS.

"To the most heigh and mightie my gratious Soveraigne "Lord James of Great Brittain, France and Ireland Virginia "and Moasson, Kinge." [Indorsed].

The Copy of the preceding paper is letter for letter like that furnished from the State Paper Office, London, by Wm. Noel Sainsbury, a clerk in that office.

HENRY C. BENBOW.

NEW YORK, July 31st, 1857.

TRANSLATION.

GEORGE POPHAM TO KING JAMES I.

13 December, 1607.

At the feet of his Most Serene King humbly prostrates himself George Popham, President of the Second Colony of Virginia. If it may please the patience of your divine Majesty—to receive a few things from your most observant and devoted, though unworthy servant, I trust it will derogate nothing from the lustre of your Highness, since they seem to redound to the glory of God, the greatness of your Majesty, and the utility of Great Brittain, I have thought it therefore very just that it should be made known to your Majesty, that among the Virginians and Moassons there is none in the world more admired than King James, Sovereign Lord of Great Brittain, on account of his admirable justice and incredible constancy, which gives no small pleasure to the natives of these regions, who say moreover that there is no God to be truly worshipped but the God of King James, under whose rule and reign they would gladly fight. Tahanida,[1] one of the natives who was in Great Brittain has here proclaimed to them your praises and virtues. What and how much I may avail in transacting these affairs and in confirming their minds, let those judge who are well versed in these matters at home, while I, wittingly avow, that all my endeavors are as nothing when considered in comparison with my duty towards my Prince. My well considered opinion is, that in these regions the glory of God may be easily evidenced, the empire of your Majesty enlarged, and

[1] This native, I think, must be the same whom Strachey calls Nahanada, Sagamo at Pemaquid. The Pemaquid and tribes further east, communicated with the Kennebec through the Sheepscot passage. W.

the welfare of Great Brittain speedily augmented. So far as relates to Commerce, there are in these parts, shagbarks, nutmegs and cinnamon, besides pine wood, and Brazilian cochineal and ambergris, with many other products of great value, and these in the greatest abundance.

Besides, they positively assure me, that there is a sea in the opposite or Western part of this Province, distant not more than seven days journey from our fort of St. George in Sagadahoc,—a sea large, wide and deep, the boundaries of which they are wholly ignorant of. This cannot be any other than the Southern ocean, reaching to the regions of China, which unquestionably cannot be far from these regions. If, therefore, it may please you to keep open your divine eyes on this matter of my report, I doubt not but your Majesty will perform a work most pleasing to God, most honorable to your greatness, and most conducive to the weal of your kingdom, which with ardent prayers I most vehemently desire. And may God Almighty grant that the majesty of my Sovereign Lord King James may remain glorious for ages to come.

At the Fort of St. George, in Sagadahoc of Virginia, 13 December, 1607.

In all things your Majesty's Devoted Servant,

GEORGE POPHAM.

ARTICLE VI.

JOURNAL

OF THE

VOYAGE OF GOV. THOMAS POWNALL,

FROM

BOSTON TO PENOBSCOT RIVER.

MAY, 1759.

COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETAY OF THE COMMONWEALTH, BOSTON.

WITH NOTES,

BY J. WILLIAMSON, BELFAST, MAINE.

JOURNAL.

[THE JOURNAL APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY THE GOVERNOR'S SECRETARY, BUT IS SIGNED BY THE GOVERNOR HIMSELF.]

JOURNAL of the voyage of his Excell'y Thos. Pownall, Esq., Cap^{n} General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, to Penobscot,[1] and of his Proceedings in establishing possession of his Majesty's Rights there in behalf of said Province.

MAY, 1759.

4th. Arrived at Falmouth, the most Eastern Town but one in the Province, where I had directed the materials for Building a Fort to be collected, and the wood part framed ready, and where I had ordered the Troops, destined for the Penobscot service to rendervous.

Reviewed the Carpenter's work, found the lower Story of the Blockhouse finished, and the Flooring of the upper

[1] A fort on Penobscot river was first recommended by Gov. Shirley, in his message to the General Court, April 9, 1756. The necessity of it is stated by Gov. Pownall three years after. "As the British Crown has secured and fortified St. John's river, the enemy has now no other outlet to the sea, than through Penobscot river, the door being shut upon them in every other part. These lands ought to be in our possession, for as long as an Indian has any claim to them, the French will maintain a title to them. To take possession there, will assure the honor of completing his Majesty's dominions on the Atlantic; the title to those lands will be secured to the subjects of the Province." *Gov. Pownall's speech, Feb.* 1, 1759.

Story laid. Flagg, the undertaker, says he can be ready by the 11th.

Gave orders to Brigad^r. Preble[1] to make me returns of Stores, Provisions, and what was wanting to compleat the whole for immediate Embarkation.

Upon Examination, found that they having got a notion that I shou'd not come down, or at least not proceed till the Frame of the Fort was compleated at Falmouth, which supposing cou'd not be within a Fortnight, had neglected to collect the men, or to form them, more to arm and Equipp them.

By the Commisaries Return of what Provisions I shou'd have to proceed with, I found he was going to issue out to the Men a back allowance from the Day of their Enlistment By which I shou'd not have Provisions to proceed with—

Therefore, Ordered the Captains to make out Billeting Rolls instead thereof.

5th. Gave orders to have the men formed into Companies, the Blankets, Haversacks, Cantines, Shot Pouches, Tin Kettles delivered, also to have them compleated, with arms and Powderhorns where deficient. That I would review them on Monday, and expected to have them ready to March on board from the Field, to have a member from each Company appointed to cast bullets.

Distributed the Freight of the Materials and Transportation of them.

The Sloop with the Bricks and Bricklayers, Wheelbarrows, Oak Plank, Iron Work, &^c. arrived at 2 P. M.

6th. Sent off Expresses to the Captains[2] of the Eastern

[1] Jedediah Preble, of Falmouth, Brigadier General of the Militia, and the first Commander of Fort Pownall.

[2] To Capt. Lithgow at Fort Halifax, Capt. Howard at Fort Weston, and Capt. at Fort Frederick, Pemaquid.

Companies to Kennebec, to Pemaquid, &c. to meet me at Georges to receive my Orders.

At 10, A. M., Capt. Hallowell[1] arrived.

7th. Repeated Orders for Returns of Men, Stores, Provisions, which I cannot get—much confusion.

Put the Care of the Embarkation under Capt. Hallowell. Review'd Capt. Herricks and Capt. Bean's Company,—saw them Equipp'd and marched off to embark.

Borrow'd, for which I gave my Bills, 114, to pay the Billeting Rolls.

Review'd Capt. Cargill's company, saw them Equipp'd and march off to embark.

Saw all the Provisions got on board Prebles' lighter.

8th. Embarked in all 333 Men. Left the Rest to come with Flagg in the Sloops, who brought the Materials. Proceeded for Georges.

9th. At 3, A. M., arrived at the Mouth of Georges River.[2] At 10, set out for the Fort[3] in the Barge, Yawl, and six Whaleboats for the Fort St. Georges. At 3, P. M., arrived, Visiting the Garrison'd houses[4] as we pass'd. Herrick's Company came up in a large Sloop, and I left Capt.

[1] Capt. Benjamin Hallowell, Commander of the Provincial 20 gun ship King George.

[2] Now in the town of St. George.

[3] Fort Georges, situated in the present town of Thomaston, in front of the location now occupied by the mansion of the late General Knox. It was erected in 1719–20, by the proprietors of the Waldo Patent, and made a public garrison soon after. It resisted successfully repeated attacks from Indians and French. The last attack was made in 1758 by a body of 400. *Eaton's Warren.*

[4] The blockhouses erected by Benjamin Burton and Dunbar Henderson, on the banks of Georges River. Burton's was situated in the present town of Cushing: it was built of stone, and surrounded by pickets. Henderson lived at Pleasant Point, near the mouth of the river. *Hist. Warren.*

Cargill with 100 men on board the King George for further Orders, intending he should land on the East side Georges River at night, &c.

Found five Indians at the Fort. Ordered them forthwith to call all their People, if there were any of them in the woods thereabouts.—For that if they did not come in they cou'd not be safe anywhere, but under the Protection of the guns of the Fort.

This I did as before I came, by way of intimidating Our People, they had advised them not to go beyond the Pickets, and as Indians had been seen lurkiug about Burton's and Hendersons Garrison'd houses.

Two went off under pretence of calling the Rest in. One came in, one Zacharie, a Pasamaquoda, who I afterwards found had a French Commission for an Ensign—of the Rest I never heard any more.

10th. Captains Drummond, Parker, Ramelin, of the Militia, also Capt. Leisner of the Scouting Company—arrived, and young Lt. Howard from Capt. Lithgow of Fort Halifax. Gave them Orders about Covering and Protection of the Frontiers. Capt. Cargill[1] came up from the Ship to receive my orders. Gave him Orders to land at night on the East side Georges River with three Subalterns, and 100 Men, to to proceed to the lower Carrying place,[2] if he met any Indians, to Order them into the Fort, to Leave an Officer's Guard there, with Orders to let all Indians coming to the Fort pass unmolested, and if they cou'd, without discovering themselves. But to stop all going from the Fort by fair means if he cou'd, if not, by any means by force of arms—To proceed thence to the Middle Carrying place, to leave

[1] Capt. James Cargill, of New Castle.

[2] From Georges River to Penobscot Bay.

there another Officer's Guard with the same orders, and so the third.—and to come in Limself to Georges, with the Remainder. He executed my Orders.

11th. And in the Morning fell upon some fresh Tracks. He left his Men, and went to trace these by himself, till he traced them to a small Camp of Indians, about Ten as proved afterward, but he thought there were but seven. He came back, took with him Lt. Preble[1] and 10 men, ordering Four on the Right Flank, Four on the Left, and proceeded directly himself with the other, with Orders not to Fire. When he came near the Camp, he discovered himself, call'd to the Indians to come in as he expressed it Good Quarters. The Indians started up, cryed out no Quarters, no Quarters, and Fired upon him. He then Fired, and ordered his men to Fire away. The Indians Ran—two fell, one rose again, and got off into the Swamp,—the other rose no more, and proved to be an Old Squaw.

All this morning as well as yesterday, fitting out the Men to March, as I intended they should go thro' the Woods as far as they cou'd. Ordered the Commissary to deliver out to each Captain seven days Provisions, Marching allowance for each man. Some of the Men left at Falmouth arrived. P. M. Examined the Indians.

St. Georges Fort, May 11th, 1759.

Examination of Laurent, a Penobscot Indian, left here as an hostage, and of three other Indians that come in to the Fort on pretence of Treating before his Excellency the Governor.

The Hon.^{ble} Brigd.^{r} Waldo,[2] one of his Majesty's Council..

[1] Son of Brigadier Preble.

[2] Samuel Waldo, the proprietor of the Waldo, or Muscongus Patent, the settlement of which he was actively engaged in promoting.

Brigd.r Jedidiah Preble, Colonel of the Troops.

Capt. Benj.a Hallowell, Commander of the King George.

Capt. Thomas Sanders,[1] Commander of the Sloop Massachusetts.

Capt. Israel Herrick.

Capt. James Cargill.

Capt. David Bean.

Capt. Alexander Nickles.[2]

The Rev. Mr. Phillips,[3] Chaplain.

Lieut. Joshua Treat[4]..... } Sworn Interpreters.
Lieut. Walter McFarland, }

John North,[5] Captain of the Fort, Examiner.—

Lieut. Mcfarland and Lieut. Treat, sworn to Interpretate faithfully and truly, according to the best of their skill and ability.—

The Governor told the Indians that this was an Examination of the reasons and pretences on which they came in here, and not any Conference or Treaty, had them asked if they understood it so. They all answered they did. Lau-

[1] Of Gloucester. He was many years in the naval service of the Province, and at the siege of Louisburg, in 1745, he commanded the Province sloop of war. *Memoir of Rev. Thos. Smith. Smith's Journal, p.* 24, *Willis' edition.*

[2] Of Bristol, which town he represented in the General Court. In 1773, he was a justice of the Peace, there being at that time but twelve east of the Kennebec river.

[3] Rev. John Phillips, of Lynn (?)

[4] Lieut. Treat was "a great hunter," and well acquainted with the country about Penobscot. He established his residence near Fort Pownal in 1760, and is supposed to have been the first permanent settler on the river. *History of Acadia, by Whipple,* 81.

[5] North was next to John Gyles, the earliest Civil Magistrate East of Pemaquid. In 1760, he was appointed one of the four Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Lincoln. He died at St. Georges, in 1765. *Eaton's Warren.*

rent, being ask'd what Tribe he was of, answered, Penobscot. Joseph, being ask'd what Tribe he was of, ans.d Penobscot and Machias. Joseph Marie was ask'd what Tribe he was of, ansd Penobscot.

Governor, asked what powers they had to confer, and what proof they could give him of their being sent by the whole People, and of their representing the whole people. } They invented many Excuses but could agree upon no one answer, and finally gave no answer.

Zacharie was asked what Tribe he was of, ansd Passamaquoda.

Zacharie was asked if the Passamaquoda and St. John's Indians was one nation, } ansd yes.

Zacharie, What did you come in for? ansd to have Peace and Trade.

Zacharie was ask'd, Did you come in on my letter to the Penobscots, } ansd. yes, and thought it all one.

Zacharie was asked, have you any power from the Tribe, } ansd. nothing but the Truth of his heart and appeal to heaven.

Zacharie was ask'd, Where is the rest of the Tribe, } ansd at Penobscot hunting.

Laurent, was ask'd, What power have you, ansd none.

The Governours Letter then Read, Interpretated and Explained to them, and they had no pretence to come in unless upon those terms, that they had not complied with any of the terms.

That the Letter offered them no Treaty, but protection only, if they come in with their Wives and Families, and put themselves under his Protection. And sent him by Message before they came in. Answers to the several Questions in my Letter.

That they had brought him no Message in answer to his Letter, that as the nation with their Wives and families

would not come in, That therefore he had nothing to say to them.

Then ask'd, have you not often and of Old times, acknowleged yourselves our Brethren, and the same as we, Subjects of King George.

Indians answered, as Brethren, but not Subjects of the King, and when told that Brigadier Waldo, Colo Preble, Capt. Sanders, now present, had been Witnesses to several Treaties, especially Governour Dummers,[1] wherein they acknowledged themselves Subjects of King George.

They answered their Old Men were Dead, and the Treaties buried and lost, and that they were young men, and knew nothing of it.

Then the Governour Explained to them how by breaking their Faith and the Conditions of their Treaties, they had forfeited their Lives, their Liberties, and their Lands—Nevertheless, if the whole Tribe, with their wives and children had come in, and put themselves under his Protection, he would Protect their Lives.

The Governor then said, you are in no treaty with me now, and none of your People under my protection but you four, and you I will protect until I put you safe in your own Countrey. Being ask'd if they understood this, answered, all. We understand and thank you. They said they had rather go by Land and take their chance, for that they cou'd avoid the English.—The Governor told them that they could not be safe but with him. Then they acquies'd and Desired that their canoe might be sent for—which the Governor ordered accordingly.

[1] The submission and agreement of the Eastern Indians, entered into at Boston, Dec. 15, 1725, and ratified the following year at Falmouth by the chiefs of the Penobscot tribe. *Original Treaty.* 3 *Me. Hist. Col.*

The Governor then told them they could not be safe else, for that some Indians who were on the Carrying place, and when call'd to by some of my people to come in, that they should have good Quarters, they refused and cried no Quarter, no Quarter, and fired upon my people, the consequence of which was an Old Squaw was kill'd—That the first day I came, I told them to call in all their People to come under the Guns of the Fort, for that otherwise they cou'd not be safe, for that the Woods were full of my people. And upon hearing that some Indians had been seen on the River, and about Burton's Garrison, and one at Gut below Pearson Point, I sent them a second Message to call in their People, to which they said if there were any Indians they were not their People, and if they did not come in, they deserved to be killed; being asked, if this was not true, they answered, yes.

Jedediah Preble.
Benj.ª Hallowell, Jun.r
Thomas Sanders.
John Phillips.
Joseph Sanders.
John North.

York, ss. St. Georges, May 12, 1759.

Lieut. Walter M'farland made Oath that he Interpretated to the best of his Skill and Judgment the foregoing Examination. Questions and answers from the Governour to the Indians, and from the Indians to the Governour: Excepting the seeing of an Indian at Burton's Garrison, he dont remember about it perfectly.

Before me, John North, Just. Peace.

12th. Sent Capt. Cargill and 20 Men with Young Laurent to fetch his canoe.—Found a good deal of Provisions

hid by the canoe in order for Stealing a March—which confirmed my Suspicion.

Reviewed the Companies, saw them Equipp'd for Marching, and sent them to receive their Provisions.

Capt. Cargill returned—Got his Company ready to March, tho' they had been out all night, and he himself twice to the furthest Carrying place that day.

P. M.	Marched off Brigd.r Preble with	
	Capt. Herricks Company	71
	Cargill's - - -	74
	Beans' - - -	70
	Nichols' - - -	69
		284
Kept for the Whaleboats, - - -		52
Sick at Georges, - - - -		11
On board the King George, - - -		7
Bradbury, - - - - -		2
Prebles Lighter, - - - -		3
At Falmouth, - - - -		36
		395

Orders to Brigd.r Preble to March to the Mouth of Pausegasawackeag,[1] a river that runs into Penobscot about thirty miles from Georges. Appointed one Robinson, a hunter, as his Guide—and gave him a Signal—Viz.t. Three distinct Smoaks—which I would answer with a Gun—upon which he was to send up a fourth Smoak—Ordered Lt. Small, a good Surveyor, to chain the whole way, and keep a field book.

[1] The river Passagawassakeag, the mouth of which forms Belfast Harbor.

13th. Embark'd in Sanders's Sloop to go down to the Ship—arriv'd at 10 o'clock. Brought with me Laurent, Joseph, Joseph Marie, and Zacharie. Sent off Lt. Saunders in the Sloop Massachusetts to Falmouth to convoy the Sloops with the Workmen and Materials—Taking out of him into the King George all the Intrenching Tools.

Sail'd for Penobscot, took with me the two Brick Sloops, and Preble's Lighter, with 40 hogsheads [1] of Lime, which I laded at Georges.

Came to anchor off the Green Islands in Penobscot Bay.

14th. As cold as ever I had felt it all Winter. Came to Sail, and arriv'd just before Sunsett off the North of Pausegasewackeag River.

15th. At 4, P. M., Preble arriv'd, made his Signal, which I answered, and he rais'd his fourth Smoak. Sent for him aboard. He reported to me by the Survey they had March-ed 30 Miles and 64 Rod.

Told the Indians they might go to-night or to-morrow, which they chose.—They chose the Morrow.

Ordered Preble to be ready to embark by Day light,—that I would send the Whaleboats for him, in which together with the Ship and Brick Sloops, I cou'd carry his People across.

16th. At Day break Embarked according to orders. Sent off Capt. Bean, who had been before in Penobscot River, with a hundred men to take Post on the East side the River [2] to keep a good look out whether anything stir'd or pass'd.

[1] Gen Waldo caused the manufacture of Lime to be commenced near St Georges Fort, in 1734. The lime was for many years put up in hogsheads which had been used for molasses; it being then supposed that casks could not be made there for the want of suitable hoops. *Eaton's Warren, p.* 48.

[2] Opposite the present City of Belfast.

While this was doing, sent for the Indians and Spoke to them as follows :

At Georges you were under my protection. You cou'd not have gone safe home had not I brought you here. You may now go safe. Take this Flag as a Passport to Penobscot, and return to your Town.

Gave them an Union Flag.

Tell your People that I am come to build a Fort at Penobscot, and will make the land English. I am able to do it—and I will do it. If they say I shall not, let them come and Defend their Land now in time of War. Take this Red Flag to remember what I say. When I have built my Fort and set down at Penobscot, if ever there be an English man kill'd by your Indians—You must all from that hour fly from the Country. For I will send a number of Men on all sides the River, sweep it from one end to the other, and hunt ye all out.—

Gave them a Red Flag.

As to the People of Penobscot, I seek not their Favour nor fear them, for they can do me neither good nor harm. I am sorry for their Distress, and would do them Good. Let them become English, they and their Wives and Families, and come and live under the Protection of the Fort, and I will Protect them. They shall have Wigwams and Planting Ground near the Fort, and may hunt as usual: But the English shall hunt also: They shall not interfere with one another's hunt, when they hunt separate; and they may hunt together when they choose it. If they will live under the English Laws, I will make such of their Sungamas as they shall choose, Justices—to do Justice—to Right what may be wrong, and to keep Peace amongst yourselves,—and that when anything happens wrong between the English and

Indians, an English Justice and an Indian Justice shall meet and do right between them. You shall have a Free Market for your Furs and Skins, and the Price shall be set by agreement.

Take this White Flag and remember this.

Gave them a White Flag.

Gave them Rum, Meat, Shot, Powder, Blankets, Shoes, Caps, and a Gun, one of them wanting one, the Rest had of their own, and sent them off in their Canoe. They made for the Carrying place[1] which I afterwards found.

Sail'd, and about half past four, P. M., got within about Two Miles, or a League of Wasaumkeag Point,[2] and tho' the Breeze strong enough to keep all the Sails, Topgallants and all sleeping, yet cou'd not Stem the Torrent of the Tide, on the contrary the Ship under no Command of the helm—whirled about at random, so that Capt. Hallowell let go the keedger—Made several attempts, but cou'd not make it do to-night, so came to anchor.

The Sloop, Patterson, Master, with the Stores and Cannon, arrived in the River, but cou'd not get up to us. Sent two whaleboats, arm'd, to Guard her.

17th. A Fresh Breeze. Sent off two whaleboats with 20 men to Capt. Bean, with Orders to cross over to the Western Shore, and take Post on the Opposite Point.[2] After several Puzzles, got up into the Har-

[1] Probably the carrying place across the neck of Fort or Wasaumkeag Point, to Penobscot river. Perhaps from Cape Jellison Harbor, to the Penobscot, below Sandy Point.

[2] In the present town of Prospect, at the mouth of Penobscot river. It is now known as Fort Point. The name *Wasaumkeag*, occurs only in Gov. Pownall's Journal.

[2] Sandy Point, north of Wasaumkeag Point.

bour[1] within Wasaumkeag Point. Capt. Bean posted on the north point of the Harbor. Sent Capt. Cargill to bring him round, to look for the Carrying Place, to make a Signal when they had found it, and to take post there.

Landed in the Cove of the Neck, just where it makes a Right angle with the bottom of the Harbor, in the following Order.—As soon as I saw Capt.s Cargill and Bean advancing on the Beach to the Right—The men being all Embark'd in Whaleboats and a Lighter which was tow'd in by the Ship and Sloop's boats, I advanced with the whole in a Line abreast,—Preble commanding the left Division, Myself in the Barge the Right, as soon as we came near the Shore, upon a Signal which I had before given Preble, he with his Division push'd up to the Left, and Landed on the Cove so as to form a Right Angle with the Shore where I landed.—so that had any Indians from behind the Trees opposed either his or my Landing, the other must have Flank'd them.

There was no enemy,—nor did I expect any—But I could not have justified myself if anything had happen'd, if I did not take all the same Precaution as tho' there were.

We landed and Reconnoitred the whole, and took post at the Point—and Encamp'd the Men.

Came again on board—after Dinner sent Preble to see the Carrying Place.—He reported to me that it was not above 80 Rod across—Went again ashore. Ordered a Party to look out for water. Sent ashore all the axes for clearing.—For having thoroughly Reconnoitred this Point, as I never yet saw so well suited a *Scite* for a Fort, so I imagin'd I should not find one more proper throughout this

[1] Prospect Harbor or Fort Point Harbor between Wasaumkeag and Sandy Points.

River. However made no Determination about fixing the Fort.

18th. Daylight, ashore, Clearing. Order'd them to set about Digging a Well. Sent off Lt. Small to Survey the Whole Neck. Capt. Nichols, with the Picket to Guard him. Order'd a Breast Work or Barricado to be made round the Camp.

Had a Return of Water, three Springs.—Gave Orders for clearing them and fixing barrels to them.

P. M. Barricado almost finished. Orders to Brigadier Preble to send two Officers and 40 Men early next morning, with 20 axes to clear the Carrying place about a Rod wide from side to side. One Officer with 20 men to keep Guard the other, with 20 to work, Spell and Spell—To compleat the Breast Work, and have a Detachment of 150 Choice men, officers included, ready to embark at a Minutes Warning in Whaleboats with three Days Provisions.

Finish the Hospital.

19th. Ashore at the Carrying Place. Found it clear'd so as to see from water to water. Order'd Capt. Bean to build a Logg Redoubt according to Form I gave him, with a Guard room in it for an Officer and 25 men, and when compleated to come off, leaving such Guard there. Sent ashore from the King George some Swivel Cohorns to fix on the Breast Work at the Camp. Went to the Camp. Found that the Well Diggers had come to good Water.—Drank Punch made of it. Reconnoitred the Springs and the Point, looking a proper Scite for the Fort in case I determined to fix on this Point.

At night, Lt. Small return'd from the Survey.

20th. Visited the Post at the Carrying place. Found Lt. Preble had finished the Redoubt and Guard house which Capt. Bean began.

Thence to Camp. Order'd the like Avenue to be cut across the point where 'tis narrowest, not above 70 rods, to have the same kind of Redoubt and Guard house built there.

This Executed in two hours' time.

As I found that the Carrying place was rather two far from the Camp at night unless I cou'd also keep another Guard at this last Avenue, and as I had not men enough for that, Ordered that this Guard should alway be reliev'd at the Carrying place at Dusk of the Evening—that both the Guard and Relief should return to the nearer Avenue on the Point, and that the Guard should be posted there all night.—That by Day Break, it should advance by a Scouting March to the Redoubt or the Carrying Place, taking proper caution, thus, as the Sailors phrase it, making Snug Sail at night and out Reefs in the morning.

In the afternoon, Order'd a Road to be cut about two Rods wide in a Direct Line East and West to the Avenue on the narrow of the Point. This Executed before night.

Capt. Nichols, who had been on a Party to get Bark to cover the Hospital, &c., Returned.

Sloop that was sent to get Sand—Return'd with a good load. Wind all Day blowing at N. N. W. hard Gale and Snow.

21st. Ashore Clearing. Gott a Nine Pounder ashore to the Top of the Point, at an Elevation with the Breech on the Bed. Threw a Shot across into the Woods on the Opposite side, at a Level, into the Channel about half way. At an Elevation of twelve degrees, what they call'd the Cape Breton Point Blank, threw a Shot close in Shore on the opposite Side before it struck.

Lt. Sanders in the Sloop Massachusetts with four Sloops under his Convoy—with the Workmen and Materials arrived about 4 P. M.

Major Berry and 37 Men also arrived from Falmouth. The Hospital finished.

Gave Sanders Orders to be ready to take on board the Detachment for going up the River to-morrow by Daylight—also to one of the Sloops for the same.

Orders to Brig^r Preble to have the men ready according to former Orders. Victuall'd for three days.

Orders to Major Berry about the Command of the Camp. To get the Beds into the Hospital—to Regulate the Guards and Scouts in my absence—Ashore and saw this done myself.

22d. At four, A. M., the Embarkation began, but the Wind come to the North about, so cou'd not proceed.

At noon, the South wind came up. Gave the Signal for Embarking, and set out with the two sloops and ten Whaleboats with 136 men, more being unnecessary, as I found the Indians cou'd Muster but 80[1] Men.—Arrived that night within Six miles of the Falls.[2]

23d. Got over the First Ledge of Rocks at High water before we knew it, and stuck on a Rock in the Sloop Massachusetts. As soon as I perceiv'd we were like to have a great Puzzle if ever we got her off, I immediately order'd seventy men into the Whaleboats, and Landed Capt. Nickles with 40 men on the left Shore, and Lt. Brown with 30 on the Right—least if there should be any Indians they might fire upon the Sloop in her distress. The water fell from the Sloop, two feet—the Tide running down three knots. Capt. Hallowell managed by rouling Her to get her off the Rock. In less than an hour that very Rock was above a

[1] A few years after, the number of Indians of the Penobscot Tribe was estimated at 700.

[2] Two miles below the present city of Bangor.

fathom out of Water, and several other Rocks bare all around us—and the Ledge we had passed bare, like Picketts across the River, the Tide boiling round us and running five knots. Tryed to proceed in the Whaleboats, but without effect.

P. M. Landed on the East[1] side the River with 136 Men, and proceeded to the head of the first Falls, about four miles and a quarter from the first Ledge. Clear Land on the Left for near four Miles. Brigd^r Waldo, whose unremitted zeal for the Service had prompted him at the age of 63 to attend me on the Expedition, drop'd down just above the Falls[2] of an Apoplexy, and notwithstanding all the assistance that cou'd be given him, expired in a few moments.[3]

[1] Williamson, Hist. Maine, ii. 338. erroneously says on the *western* side, and supposed the death of Gen. Waldo took place within the limits of Bangor. What authority exists for the statement that Gen. Waldo exclaimed "Here is my bound?" The Waldo Patent did not extend across the river.

[2] In the present town of Brewer, above Treat's Falls (?) about four miles above the mouth of the Kenduskeag. The statement that Gen. Waldo's death occurred on the *Western* side of the Penobscot, is followed by Eaton, and other historians. Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, in the North American Review, vol. lviii. page 313, says "Waldo exclaimed, 'Here is my bound,' and dropped dead on the site of a city."

[3] Gen. Waldo was born in England, and was the son of Jonathan Waldo, a wealthy merchant of Boston. As the commander of a regiment, he occupied a conspicuous position in the capture of Louisburg. In 1747, Massachusetts appointed him to the charge of an expedition against Crown Point, an enterprise which was frustrated by sickness among the troops. He was an accomplished gentleman, active and enterprising, and had enjoyed the advantage of foreign travel, having crossed the Atlantic fifteen times. His appearance as a military officer was elegant and commanding. His portrait recently to be seen at the Knox mansion, in Thomaston, represents him as a tall and stout man, of dark complexion. Hist. Maine, ii. 338. *Eaton's Warren*, 109. *Life of Sir Wm. Pepperell*, 350.

At the Head of the Falls—Buried a Leaden Plate with the following Inscription.[1]

May 23, 1758. Province Massachusetts Bay.
Dominions of Great Britain.—Possession confirmed
by T. Pownall, Gov.r

Erected a Flag Staff.—Hoisted the King's Colors and Saluted them.

24th. At High water Returned. Got over the Ledge, and having a fair Wind, and the Torrent of the Freshes in Our favor, arrived at the Camp by two P. M.

Upon this Reconnoitring the River, and finding no place equal to this Point of Wasaumkeag either for Defence by its Scite, being nowhere commanding, and on the contrary having a very great command of the River and the Passes near it. Determined this to be the Place[2] for the Fort, Erected the Flag Staff, and hoisted the King's Colours with all the Ceremonies usual on such Occasions, adding Divine Service to beg God's Blessing, for unless the Lord builds the House, the Laborer worketh but in vain.

Treated the Troops with a barrel of Rum.

At night, Order'd all the Guards to be doubled, and the Rounds to be more than Ordinarily alert.

25th. Ordered the Celler and Foundation of the Fort to be compleated.

[1] Williamson, Hist. Maine, ii. 338, says "To commemorate the spot, the Governor buried a leaden plate, *bearing an inscription* of the melancholy event." Subsequent historians make a similar statement. Whipple goes farther, in saying that Gen. Waldo died "while in the act of depositing a piece of lead." *Whipple's Acadia, p.* 81.

[2] The location selected by Gov. Pownall, is twenty-five rods from the water's edge, and about the same distance from Fort Point Light house.

Lt. Small to Reconnoitre as far as Cape Rosier.[1] Flagg getting up all his Timber for the First Story of the Block house.

At Evening Buried Brigd.r Waldo at the Point near the Flagg Staff, with the honours of War in our Power.[2]

26th. Saw the First Floor and Tier of Timber laid, the cellar being finished.

Set out the Lines for a Parapett, Ditch, and Glacis. Gave Mr. Burbeck, whom I had appointed Engineer and Overseer, particular Directions in what manner to compleat the Works in each Part, as the Ground lay, and show'd him it on the spot.

[1] So called from James Rosier, the companion of Waymouth, who first discovered and explored Penobscot Bay and river, in 1605. It is thirteen miles from Fort Point, in the town of Brooksville.

[2] On Wednesday, the 23d instant, the Honorable Brigadier General WALDO who went with his excellency in the late expedition to Penobscot, drop'd down dead with an apoplexy, on the march just above the first Falls: and notwithstanding all the assistance that could be given, expired in a few moments. His Excellency had the corps brought down with him to the Fort Point, where it was interred in a vault built for the purpose, on Friday, with all the Honors due to so faithfull a servant of the public, and so good a Commonwealth's man as the Brigadier had ever shown himself to be. Upon landing the corps, it was received by a guard, and when procession began, the Ship King George fired half-minute guns 'til it arrived at the place of interment. The procession was lead by an officer's guard, next to which the minister, then the corps carried by the bargemen of the King George, and the pall was supported by the principal officers. The Governor followed as chief mourner, then officers of the troops and master-artificers, employed in building the fort, two and two, and the whole closed with a captain's guard. Upon coming to the ground, the troops under arms formed a circle, Divine service was performed, and a sermon* suitable to the awful occasion preached by the Reverend Mr. *Phillips*: And upon the interment of the corps, the Guards fired three vollies over the grave. *Boston News-Letter, Thursday, May* 31, 1759, *in Library of Mass. Hist. Soc.*

* This was the first sermon ever preached within the limits of Waldo County.

About noon left Wasumkeag Point, and went in the Sloop Massachusetts to Pentaget,[1] with Capt. Cargill and 20 men, Found the old abandon'd French Fort[2] and some abandoned Settlements. Went ashore into the Fort. Hoisted the King's Colours there, and drank the King's health. The Ship King George lying off the harbour, embark'd in her and came away for Boston—the Wind fair, got down that night to Matinnic[3] in the Mouth of the Bay.

27th. Next day to Cape Ann. Next day, about Sunset, 28th to Castle William.[4]

[1] Penobscot, or the peninsula of Biguydace, where the present village of Castine is situated. "To the east (of Long Island) is another Bay, called by the French, Pentaguet, or Pentooskeag, where I saw the ruins of a French settlement, which from the scite and nature of the houses, and the remains of fields and orchards, had been once a pleasant habitation: one's heart felt sorrow that it had ever been destroyed. T. Pownall: Topographical Descrip. British Provinces, 1776. p. 20.

[2] This was the Fort built by St. Castin, in 1667, and subsequently occupied by his son, Castin the younger. It was abandoned by him about 1726. The ruins are distinctly visible to this day.

[3] Metinic Island is seven miles east by north from Monhegan.

[4] Last Monday, His Excellency our Governor returned from the Penobscot County, in the Province Ship King George, having happily succeeded in the object of his expedition by taking possession for the crown, in behalf of this province, of the Kings ancient rights, and establishing the same, by setting down a fort on Penobscot river. His Excellency, after having first reconnoitred the country to the head of the first falls, fixed upon a high point of land that runs across the river 3-4 of a mile, about seven miles above the old French Fort at Pentaget. And we hear the materials being already prepared and framed at Falmouth, the Fort will be compleated in three weeks or a month.

His Excellency lodged on Monday night at the Castle, and the next day at noon came up to this town in the castle barge, the guns at the castle and the batteries being discharged, when he put off, and when he landed. His Excellency upon his arrival was received and congratulated by his Honor the Lieut. Governor, the members of his majesty's Council, and a great number of the civil and military officers, and other gentlemen, who waited upon his Excellency to the Court House, being escorted by the Company of Cadets, under arms. Boston News Letter, May 31, 1759.

The fort was completed July 6, 1759, at an expense to the Province of £5000. In his speech to the General Court, June 1, 1759, Gov. Pownall says: "Since the dissolution of the late assembly, (April 24) I have been to the Penobscot country, a large and fine tract of land in the dominions of the British crown belonging to this Province, but for many years a den of savages, and a lurking place for some renegado French. By the blessing of God I have succeeded in taking possession thereof, and established that possession by fixing a fort on Penobscot River, in a situation respectable for its own defence, being no where commanded, but more so for the command it holds of both branches of the River, and of the carrying-place therefrom: of Edgemoggin Reach, the outlet, and of Pentagoet, the rendezvous of the Eastern Indians when they come against our frontiers. This River was the last and only door that the enemy had left to the Atlantic—"now hopefully shut forever." The General Court highly approved of the measure, and on the tenth of June, voted to call the fortification FORT POWNALL,[1] in honor of the Governor.

A garrison was constantly maintained at Fort Pownall, until the Revolutionary War. Gen. Jedediah Preble, with a force of eighty-four men, was at first stationed there. On his resignation, in 1763,[2] Col. Thomas Goldthwait took command, which he held until 1770, when John Preble,[3] of Falmouth, son of Brigadier Preble, was appointed in his place. The following year, Gov. Hutchinson replaced Goldthwait. In 1775, Mowett, with a British man of war

[1] Records of General Court.

[2] Council Records, Jan. 14, 1764.

[3] Smith's Journal, ed. by Willis, 218.

dismantled the fort, by removing all the guns and ammunition, and in July of the same year, Col. Cargill, of New Castle, burned the blockhouse and all the wooden works to the ground, fearing that they would be occupied by the enemy to the prejudice of the neighboring inhabitants.[2] The ruins of Fort Pownal are now distinctly visible, and the remains of the breastworks are quite prominent.

[1] Hist. Maine, ii. p. 426.

[2] Pennsylvania Journal, Aug. 23, 1775, in Lib. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Davidson's Ms Narrative. The History of Maine says the destruction of Fort Pownal was not until 1779, which is a mistake.

ARTICLE VII.

ANSWER

OF THE

AGENTS OF MASSACHUSETTS,

TO THE

COMPLAINTS

OF

SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

1688.

20 Court Street, Boston,
Sept. 24th, 1857.

Hon. William Willis:

My Dear Sir,—

The public document, of which I here send you a copy, was handed to me to-day by Mr. Charles H. Morse, of Cambridge. It is a State paper of such value, and so germane to the present volume of the "Collections," that I forward it at once. I regret that I did not have it in season for use in the article on "Ancient Pemaquid," as it has the authority of an official paper, and directly and fully sustains the views there given.

Yours faithfully,

J. WINGATE THORNTON.

ANSWER.

"An answer to S^r^ Edmond Andros' acco^t^ of the forces raised in New England for defence of the Country against the Indians &c in y^e^ year 1688 humbly offered by the Agents of the Massachusets Colony.

To the R^t^ Hono^ble^ y^e^ L^ds^ of y^e^ Comitty for y^e^ plantations.

Begging your Lord: p's Leave to observe in y^e^ preamble of S^r^ Edmond Andros' acco^t^ the words (Subvertion of the Government) and afterwards Insurrection) which with submission we take to be Expressions of Disaffection to y^e^ present and a Vindication of the Late so Illegal and Arbitrary Government and doe most humbly Beseech your Lord: ps that w^t^ was don by the people of New: England with so much zeale and good affection to secure the Govern^t^ there to their present maj: ^ties^ may be favorably accepted and vindicated from such unworthy and unjust reflections.

Upon the whole we humbly represent unto your Lord: ps that the New fforts built by S^r^ Edmond Andros were meer ffancies of his owne, useless (& so esteemed by the experienced Officers of the Army and others well acquainted with the Country,) to any purpose of Defence as was pretended. And may be easily made [to] appeare unto your Lord: ps: by the map of that Country. And consequently

the Drawing the souldiers from thence hath been no prejudice to the Country. Nor hath any Loss or Damage happened thereby But our ffrontier Townes strengthened which in S^r^ Edmond's time were not only Left naked but also several persons threatened for fortifying their houses.

As to the partiqulars in this acco:^t^ we declare as followeth.

Pemaquid was a Garrison settled by S^r^ Edmond Andros whilest Govern^r^ of New: Yorke and in the beginning of the present war put under the comand of Capt: Brockholes a papist & for that reason [he] was ordered home upon the happy Revolution which Order he never observed, But afterwards being suspected to be in a plot for Deserting and runing over with the sloop Mary to y^e^ ffrench was seized by the Inhabitants of Dartmouth and brought to Boston, And his Leiftenant Weems at the request of the Inhabitants put in his roome with all the standing Garrison, not a man drawne off. The other souldiers were Dispersed by Coll: Tynge, and the rest of the chiefe Officers. Those that were sick to their owne homes, those that were fitt for service to Posts that required their assistance, there being force sufficient Left as they Judged to defend the fort. .

True it is that afterwards that ffort and about twenty houses were taken and destroyed by the Indians, But it was Imputed to the Careless Security of the Garrison and not [to] want of men, The towne being Surprised at Noonday and no Scout abroad.

New Dartmouth was destroyed all but four or five houses,

New Towne. And Newtowne all but one by the Indians in the time of S^r^ Edmond Andros' government, Don as was supposed in revenge of S^r^ Edmond's seizing Monsieur Cas-

teens house and taking thence all his Armes merchandise and house hold goods in time of profound peace. The s[t] Casteen having marryed an Indian Sachims daughter & so the Indians were allyed to his Interests. The towne being destroyed & the Inhabitants sent to Boston by S[r] Edmond, A ffort was needless there being nothing to preserve.

Redoubt on Damrascotty river. There being no Inhabitants there after that Dartmouth was destroyed and deserted Coll: Tynge & Major Thomas Savage Officers in S[r] Edmond's army and one of them of his Council Advised the deserting that place and the Insignificant fforts of Fort Ann and Pegipscott &c as useless there being no plantation [with] in many miles of them. Coll. Math: Gregory was seized by his owne souldiers in regard of his Cruelty and severity towards them, several for that reason having deserted him before the Revolution.

Sagadehock: Being a ffort erected at the charge of the fishermen they withdrawing their ffishery in the ffale of the year this Garrison was withdrawne at their owne Instance.

Falmouth in Cascoe Baye. A fort formerly built by the Massachusets Colony is still continued and better finished & provided than in S[r] Edmond's time. Capt. Lochart a reputed papist, was by order of Council for that reason dismist and Silvanus Davis an Inhabitant of that place & formerly Comander of y[t] fort in his roome. here it was the Indians career was stopt and they defeated by the forces raised since the Revolution by the united Colonys.

Saco River fort was deserted in S[r] Edmond's time for want of Necessaries and provisions for the souldiers: And Capt. ffloyd himself made a prisoner by S[r] Edmond upon

his coming to aske provisions for the necessary subsistence of that Garrison:

Kennebunk we know of no fort there.

Wells is still well Inhabited and many houses there fortyfied & Capt: Willard with his Company posted there by Order of Council for their Security.

Merimack River—And many other places upon the Revolution changed the Officers they could not trust, But Major Henchman keeps both his station and comand there. All our frontier townes have had recruits sent them by order of Council for the security of the Country which was much neglected and weakened in S^r^ Edmond's time by drawing souldiers thence to build and supply the trifling forts before mentioned.

Connecticott River—Continues as it was only Coll^o^ Treat finding no Occasion for so great force as was sent thither by S^r^ Edmond drew them off before the Revolution; After which that Colony reassumed their ancient Government, chose the s^d^ Coll: Treat Governor & hath suffered no damage by the Indians.

The sloope & Briganteen with other vessels pretended to be prest for his maj^ties^ use in the service of the Country were chiefely employed to carry Souldiers to and fro at S^r^ Edmond's pleasure. We know not that they were at all made use of for the security of the Coast or fishery, Or that they were fit for that purpose: or need be so employed at that season of the year. True it is there was great Complaint that those who served with them were never payed which made S^r^ Edmond's Government more uneasy.

The standing forces S^r^ Edmond was reputed to have brought with him to New England were about 120 men

which he posted at Pemaquid Boston & the Castle: some of which dyed some deserted in S^r^ Edmond's time. And when the war with the Indians broke out he tooke parte of them at Boston & at the castle with him for that service; what became of them S^r^ Edmond can best tell: we are well assured not a man [of them] perrished by the Indians, nor any Indian was hurt by them or any of his forces.

We have not an exact Inventory of the provisions and stores found in the Garrisons at the time of the happy Revolution: But can averr that the principall Garrisons were supplyed from Boston. And the men that were sent out for the Reinforcement of the Army were furnished with Necessaries for war at the charge of partiqular persons: And not one penny from the treasury.

All which acco^t^: afores^d^ we have either by our owne knouledge or the best informations which were transmitted from time to time to the Government during our aboade in New England.

The Occasion of our present distress is the war between the two Crownes of England & ffrance which prevents all supplys from England & by the Act of Navigation we cannot have y^m^ elsewhere:

That as our stores are Lessened So our Necessitys are encreased the french being a potent enemy & a near neighbor we need not Labour under greater Inconveniencies. And the mischiefs of y^e^ Interruption in our Ancient Goverm^t^ not yet recovered. We therefore humbly propose that for a present Releife The Vessell may be dispatcht with Convoy. And Leave given to merchants to ship Armes & ammunition as followeth, viz: 1000 ffuries 200 barrells pistoll powder, 50 barrells Cannon powder 20 tuns Lead. Whereby we shall be able (God blessing endeavours) to defend ourselves.

And if his majᵗʸ shall thinke fit to attempt yᵉ Reduction of Canada (now so prejudiciall to their majᵗʸˢ Colonys in America) we shall with all cheerfulness & resolution give our utmost assistance thereto, not doubting but his majᵗʸ will of his inviolable Justice and Royall bounty Continue and Establish to us our ancient Rights and Privileges.

[London] May 30, 1690. ELISHA COOKE.

Vera Copia. THO. OAKES.

"Thes may certify whom soever it may consern that Mr. John Partrig of portsmouth was feild Marshall to the Army or forses Eastward and that he had orders both genrall & pticaler to take car for the hospatalls and Armys upon all thayer mosions And he was much Imployd in the Servis and I was eye witness of most of these things and see no Reason to object against the same as to Artacles the prizes [I] medl not with.

Subscribd March 4th 1690. 91."

Pr Robt Pike Comder in chf.

"These may Certyfy That Mr. John Partridge was appoynted and did Serve ye office of ffield Marshall to both ye Prouinces of Hamshire and Maine To all our armyes and Hospitall, and did great Seruise and was at great Expence and I doe know of most or all ye perticulars in his account for the Armies and Hospitalls Excepting whatwas don before I came.

1691, May 4th. John ffloyd, Capt.

"I who have here subscribed my name, being a Captn under majr Rob Pike Esqr in ye yeare 90, was present when Mr. John Partridge was Chosen and Impowered field Marshall for ye army in Hampsheir & Maine, and all ye time majr Pike Stayed Estwl and after he was gone home, ye forces Left were put under my charge & I do know yt ye sl Marshall Spent almost his wholl time in ye Countrey Servise, and was always found faithfull, & In my Opinion he well deserves his pay according to his acct.

ffeb. 6 169½. Attest, James Convers, Captn."

ARTICLE VIII.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

GERMAN SETTLEMENT,

IN WALDOBOROUGH.

BY REV. MR. STARMAN.

AND A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. STARMAN.

BY HON. NATH'L GROTON.

GERMANS IN WALDOBOROUGH.

WALDOBORO', 31st August, 1848.

MR. WM. WILLIS, Portland:

SIR,—Your favor of the 29th inst., has come to hand, and with gladness I give you all the information in my power respecting the settlement at Waldoboro', and in particular of German immigration. The following is an extract from the American Quarterly Register, of November, 1840, by the Hon. William D. Williamson, Bangor, Maine; a great part of it is communicated by me. A few German emigrants began the original plantation of Waldoboro'; it is supposed they came over in the summer or autumn of 1739. It was at first the abode of only two or three families, to which accessions were made in 1740. The Eastern and Canadian Indians, in what was called the Spanish war, fell upon the settlement in May, 1746, reduced their habitations to ashes, killed some of the people, and carried the residue away captives. The settlement lay waste till 1748, when the thoughts of other Germans were turned to the same region for an abiding place. In the year 1751, between 20 and 30 families came over, and their necessities were relieved at the public expense, as well as by private charities. In the spring of 1732, General Samuel Waldo sent his son to Germany, who issued circulars, promising every man who

would emigrate and reside upon his patent, 100 acres of land, and also assistance to make beginnings. Encouraged by these offers, about 1500 German emigrants settled at Broadbay. In the French war, some were killed, others carried to Canada. But the war was hardly closed when this *quiet* people were perplexed with other troubles. The greater part of the plantation found that the deeds received from Waldo gave them no title to these lands. Some purchased anew their lands in 1763, others left the settlement, and went to Londonderry and South Carolina, with a pious Moravian Clergyman, but the most returned, and were received with open hearts and arms.

These pilgrims came from different parts of Germany, very few remain living of those who were born there, but they lived to an old age. These settlers, when they first planted themselves at Broadbay, now called Waldoboro', formed a church, in two branches, the Lutheran and German Reformed, these latter are the followers of Zwinglius. A number of them being a devout people, met every Sabbath for public worship, till the arrival of a minister, Rev[d] John M. Schaeffer, who settled with them in 1762, when there were 80 or 90 families in all; his ministry was continued nearly twenty years. In 1785, he was succeeded by Reverend Mr. Craner, his period of preaching was only four years. The next minister of this people was Rev[d] Augustus Ferdinand Retz, a native of Germany. He received a classical education in his native country, at the University of Helmstadt. He was a man of piety and learning; he emigrated to the State of Pennsylvania in 1751, became a member of the Lutheran Synod in that State, and was there for some time a pastor of 4 congregations. The church of Waldoboro', destitute of a Pastor, were directed to him for a sup-

ply, he accepted the call, and came to this place in the year 1795. He had a hard work to perform, but there are evident tokens that God was with him. He left this world suddenly in the year 1811, but we have reason to believe he was received by his Gracious Master into the mansions of bliss.

Since the year 1811, I have been the unworthy Pastor of the Lutheran church in this place. I am a native of Germany, born in Lennep, near Elberfeld, in 1773, a subject of the Elector of Palatine. My father was pastor of the Lutheran Church in Lennep till 1787, when he died. I received my education in the schools of my native town and in my father's house. I was very early inclined to studious habits, particularly on religious subjects, but brought up after my father's death to mercantile business. In the year 1796, I went to New York, where I boarded a great part of my time in the family of the late Rev^{d} D^{r} F. W. Geissenhainer: the Doctor seeing that I meditated much on religious subjects, encouraged me to prepare myself for the Gospel-Ministry, and to offer myself to the Lutheran Synod for examination. I did so, was examined, accepted, preached before them, received license, and an order to visit some vacant congregations. This last order it seems my Master did not approve of; he sent me a providential invitation to go to Waldoborough, where I have been the happy instrument in the hands of God of bringing the Lutherans and German Reformed to sit together at the Lord's table as one undivided family.

I am far advanced in age, my infirmities increase, my labors are ended, and I should like to see my place filled with a pious, faithful Lutheran Pastor, and by him the Lutheran church increased. But my people is a poor people, they are

unable to maintain a Pastor without being assisted. O! that God would send them assistance, and thus keep the Lutheran church in this place in existence.

Thus I have answered your request, so far as it was in my power.

I am respectfully,

Your obt. Servant,

JOHN W. STARMAN.

P. S. I have no doubt you will excuse my bad incorrect writing if I tell you that the Salt Rheum has brought me in a very pitiable condition, disables me for a great part of my time to leave my house, and even some times almost blinds my eyes, otherwise, I might have gathered materials which would have made my statement more extensive and interesting.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE
OF
REV. MR. STARMAN.

By Mr. Starman's narrative it appears that he was born in Lennep, a town of Rhenish Prussia, in Germany, 21 miles E. S. E. of Dusseldorf, a city situated on the right bank of the Rhine,noted, among other things, for its excellent educational establishments. He received the rudiments of his education in his native town. In his account of himself he says nothing further of his early education, tho' I am induced to believe that he studied in some school at Dusseldorf. He was prepared to pursue mercantile business, and did so for a season. He was from his youth, of a pious and reflective disposition on the subject of religion, and felt it his duty to aid in evangelizing the world; and so strong was his impulse to act his part therein on our Western continent, that he left his business as a merchant and embarked in Germany for New York in 1796,—and hazarded a passage thro' many waters of the Atlantic ocean to be serviceable to his German brethren in this new world. From New York, thro' a strong impulse on his mind, he went to Pennsylvania where were many of his countrymen, speaking the German language, and who needed religious instruction. He spent some years in and about Philadelphia, engaged in preaching the gospel. In the year 1811, the Rev^{d}. Augustus Rhodolphus Benedictus

Retz, died at Waldoboro', who was settled over the German Lutheran Church at that place in 1793. By his death, the Church and congregation were left without a teacher. At this time many of the old German settlers and their immediate descendants were living, who could not understand the preaching of the gospel in any other than the German language; they were a staid people, not excitable or affected by what they denominated new-light doctrines or preaching. At all events, they were determined upon obtaining a learned, a pious and sound German Lutheran minister; but where was he to be found? Not in New England. A meeting of the Church was held, and the late Capt. Charles Miller, of Waldoboro', was delegated with full power to go to Philadelphia, and there engage a preacher, possessed of the before-named qualities and one suited to their wants. Capt. Miller, tho' born in Waldoboro', was a good German scholar, that language was his mother tongue. He was also a man of influence in his own town. He visited the Church at Philadelphia and was recommended to the Rev^{d} Mr. Starman, and after conversing with him and explaining the temporal and spiritual state of the Church and people at Waldoboro', he accepted their call, thro' Capt. Miller, whereupon he sat out on his journey, and arrived there and preached his first sermon in the old German Lutheran meeting-house late in the fall of 1812. He was then about 40 years old, and like his predecessor, the Rev^{d} Mr. Retz, was unmarried. He gave a new resurrection to the slumbering and, I may say, dying and dead energies of the old German Christians of Waldoboro'; they wept for joy, that once more, before their deaths, they could sit and listen to these teachings of truths, edifying their minds and kindling into life their religious zeal. They

blessed the Lord that he had sent them a teacher to go before them "as in a pillar of cloud by day; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them spiritual light to direct them by day and by night." For the first eight years of his ministry, he preached altogether in the German language. He was during that time making the English language a study. He perceived that the German was dying out with the decease of the fathers, and that in a few years the English would take its place, as is now the case at Waldoboro'. In the year 1820, Mr. Starman ventured to preach his first sermon in the English language, in his own meeting house. He made himself well understood; the sermon cost him much labor in the writing of it, and much effort in its delivery. He continued his ministry, preaching English from that time till 1835 one Sunday in four; then one half the time in German and one half in English; about the year 1840, he preached one Sunday in four in the German language. On these days the sacrament of the Eucharist was administered to the tottering monuments of the early days of the first settlers of Broadbay, among whom was *Conrad Heyer*, who for more than 70 years, occupied a conspicuous seat in the singing gallery, both in the old log meeting-house at the cove, and then in the present house now standing and in good repair, about 5 furlongs below and southwest of the village of Waldoboro', on the west side of the bay and river. Shortly after Mr. Starman's settlement at Waldoboro', he found himself solitary and alone, in a strange land, his friends advised him to take to himself a wife, and she to be one of the daughters of the land. They went so far to relieve him from embarrassment in this delicate matter as to designate who should be his bride, and negotiate with her family and herself as to the terms and conditions of the marriage; she

assented and they were married. She was a Miss Kaler, of German descent, and understood and spoke that language. She was of much personal beauty, of domestic habits and willing to live within the small income of her husband. She bore him two or three children, and she, with some of them, are now living at Waldoboro'. Mr. Starman was in person about six feet in height, in manners and address bland and courteous, stately and graceful in his movements—never losing sight of the Christian or the gentleman. The writer of this sketch has often listened to his preaching both in the German and English Languages. In the former he was eloquent and rapid in his delivery, in the latter he was somewhat embarrassed, owing to the difference of the idiom of the two languages. For example, in one of his English sermons he was speaking of the tongue, of its influence and power over the character and happiness of society, he said "like the helm of a ship it is." Mr. Starman made such advances in the English language, that for some years before his death, he was successively elected one of the superintending school committee of Waldoboro', and discharged the duties of the office with much acceptance. He carried out the principle, that kindness, gentlemanly treatment and good will to every one would ensure the same to him; and so it was—the most depraved and wicked respected him, verifying the truth of the axiom: vice always is tributary to virtue. The lives of settled village clergymen, lawyers or doctors are not attended by such great achievements or hairbreadth escapes as to render them very conspicuous among their fellows.

I have been thus particular in narrating events in the life of Mr. Starman, as he was the last of the German Lutheran preachers at Waldoboro'. Forty years ago that language

was spoken by a majority of its inhabitants, none speak it now in social or business relations. English schools and English instruction have given that language the ascendancy. Mr. Starman having become aged and physically infirm, could preach only occasionally, and generally in the English language till within five years of his death, which took place Sept. 25, 1854, when he had attained to the age of 81 years and 5 months. The intelligence of his death was received by the people of Waldoboro' of all religious denominations with heartfelt sorrow. They could say of him—

"Exemplo monstrante viam;"

and in the language of poetry—

"When preachers die, what rules the pulpit gave
Of living are still preached from the grave,
The Faith and life which our dead pastor taught
Now in one grave with him we'll bury not."

The people of Waldoboro', especially the men of wealth, with a liberality peculiar to them, erected a monument to the memory of Mr. Retz and Mr. Starman, in the German burying ground adjoining the meeting house, where all that is mortal of them is buried. This monument is an obelisk of white marble, and erected at an expense of over $300. There is insculptured upon it the period of their births, duration of their ministry and time of their deaths.

NATH. GROTON.

ARTICLE IX.

LITHGOW FAMILY.

THE LITHGOW FAMILY.

The following paper was prepared by the late Hon. Mark Langdon Hill, whose residence in Phippsburg gave him abundant opportunity to become acquainted with the Lithgow family. As members of this family were prominent in the affairs of Maine, both before and after the revolution, and were connected by marriage with numerous other distinguished families in our State, the facts thus preserved will have a general interest.

The Letter of Llewellyn Lithgow, Esq., of Augusta, which follows Mr. Hill's account, contributes a valuable addition to the facts stated by him. Gen. Wm. Lithgow was the first District Attorney of the United States for Maine, and held the office at the time of his death.

LITHGOW FAMILY.

William Lithgow emigrated with his father from Scotland in early life to this country, and settled in Georgetown; was by profession a gun smith. Having a turn for military affairs and an active life, with a good school education, he was soon promoted to a command by turns at the fort at Richmond, near the head of Swan Island, on Kennebec river; also the fort at Augusta called Fort Weston, and Fort Halifax at the mouth of the Sebasticook. In this way being employed as agent of the Government to carry on the intercourse with the Indians, and marrying the only daughter of Col. Noble, he soon became possessed of a handsome property. He was a magistrate for many years, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, with Judges McCobb and Howard. He possessed a very fine natural disposition, facetious and pleasant in his manners, exceedingly hospitable in his house to rich and poor, and this was characteristic of all his family who were remarkable for their genteel and elegant deportment. Postlethwait's Dictionary contains an article relating to the Indians of North America, from the pen of Judge Lithgow. His moral character, through life, was very good, but he never made an open profession of religion. He died 20th Dec., 1798, aged 86 years.

1 *Daughter.* His oldest daughter married Capt. Samuel Howard, of Augusta.

2*d.* Susanna, married the Rev[d] John Murray, first settled at Boothbay, where he remained several years, and then removed to Newburyport, where he continued in the ministry until he died, and where his wife died soon after.

3*d.* Jane, a very handsome, accomplished woman, was said to have been engaged to Rowland Cushing, an eminent lawyer, and brother to William Cushing, late Judge of the Sup. Court of the U. S., but suddenly died of a fever before marriage. She wrote an elegant hand, and could fill a writ as well as her brother, the General.

4*th.* Mary, married Major James Davidson, of Bath, and both deceased.

1 *Son.* James, married a daughter of the late John Gardiner, Esq., Practitioner at law in Dresden, both deceased, but left two sons, Alfred and Llewellen, who are magistrates now living and very respectable, and a daughter, who married the late Col. Edw[d] Williams, of Augusta.

2*d.* Arthur, was a noble looking man, married a daughter of Edmund Bridge, Esquire, late Sheriff of Lincoln, and was several years High Sheriff of the C°. of Kennebec, himself, and held various other offices. He removed to Charlestown, Mass., and died there.

5*th Daughter.* Nancy, was quite accomplished, as were all the sisters, but she died quite young.

3*d Son.* Robert was a sea Captain, sailed to the West Indies in a new brig of his father's, during the Revolution, but the vessel or crew were never heard from.

6*th Daughter.* Charlotte, a fine looking woman, and celebrated for her musical powers, died single.

4th Son. William Lithgow, Junr., son of the preceding, received a good Academic education, and studied law with James Sullivan, afterward Governor, while he lived at Biddeford, about the commencement of the war of independence, and when the time came "to try men's souls," he left all, and entered the service of his country, became a major in the army, and in some conflict with the enemy, had his right arm broken at the elbow, which remained stiff, through life, but not so much so as to hurt his appearance.

He was esteemed a good lawyer—had much practice, was twice a Senator from Lincoln, Major General in the Militia, of noble mein and deportment, with accomplished manners, and in truth it may be said, that the Province had not then furnished a more popular man. He died Feb'y 16th, 1795, of a liver complaint, aged 46 years, about the time he expected to have been married to Mary Deering, who was afterward the wife of Commodore Preble, and now living in Portland, a widow.[1]

MARK L. HILL.

[1] Mrs. Preble died in 1851. She had a fine miniature of Gen. Lithgow, which is now in possession of her family. We are not able to determine the time when Mr. Hill prepared the above statement. W.

NOTE. General Lithgow wrote a hand nearly equal to copper plate, and kept it up as long as he lived. This is not common for those who write so much. But there are some other instances within my knowledge, and I will name Judge Nathl. Twing, late of Woolwich, who was for many years Register of Probate and County Treasurer, as well as Judge of the Com. Pleas. Also General Henry Sewall, of Augusta, who was Clerk of the District Court as long as Judge David Sewall held his office, and also Register of Deeds for Kennebec. Also, his brother Danl. Sewall, Clerk of the Courts and Register of Deeds in York County, for about half a century—now 84 years old, and few can now write so well. All these persons have long since died.

LETTER OF L. W. LITHGOW.

AUGUSTA, June 5th, 1857.

HON. WM. WILLIS:

DEAR SIR,—I have delayed answering yours of May 13th, for the purpose of being able to obtain such information, as more satisfactorily to answer the questions proposed by you. I have not taken interest enough in the origin of our family to be able to state positively the number of my great-grandfather's children, nor the time when they were born, nor their ages.

His name was Robert. He emigrated from Ireland, his ancestors having fled from Scotland at the time of the rebellion. He came over to Halifax, and thence to Boston, where I understand his only son, William, was born, but at what time I cannot now state, nor do I know how many sisters my grandfather had. One married Lieutenant Howard, and lived on the Kennebec immediately below the village in Augusta. Another, I think, married a Hunter of Brunswick.

My grandfather, William, married Sarah Noble, of Massachusetts, daughter of Col. Noble, who, with his brother, was killed in the old French war, at Cape Breton. They had eleven children who lived to grow up. Their several ages I am unable to state at present. Robert, the oldest son, made one voyage to India as supercargo of a brig owned by my grandfather. The second voyage the vessel was lost with all on board.

William, the General, had a law office at Augusta in the S. W. corner of Fort Weston, the first room ever plastered in this town. He was engaged to be married to a Miss Deering, of Portland, who, after his death, married Commodore Preble, of that city.

Arthur married Martha, daughter of Edm'd Bridge, of Dresden, for many years Sheriff of Lincoln County, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Arthur, is still living in the West Indies, and has a son now at school, in Medford, Mass. The second son, William, died about thirty years ago, leaving a wife, son and daughter. The daughter is married to Tolman Willey, a Boston lawyer. Her mother is still a widow, living in Boston. The third son died young. The oldest daughter, Caroline, married Richard Devans, and is now a widow living in Charlestown. She has a number of children. From her I hope to obtain information that I do not now possess in relation to the origin of the Lithgow family. Her father, Arthur Lithgow, was for some time endeavoring to establish the family claim to the Linn-Lithgow estate near Edinboro, Scotland. The second daughter, Mary, also married a Devans, and died, leaving two sons, one of whom was Marshal of the District at the time of the Anthony Burns difficulty in Boston.

The third daughter, Frances, now Mrs. John Payson, resides in Boston, has two sons and a daughter now living. The daughter married a clergyman in England where she is now living. James Noble Lithgow, my father, married Ann, daughter of John Gardiner, and sister of Dr. Gardiner, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. Three of his children lived to grow up. Alfred G. Lithgow, my brother, married a daughter of Dr. Theobald, and lives in Dresden. They have no children living. Mary, daughter of Thomas

Bowman and Sarah Howard, of Augusta, I married in May, 1825. We have no children, neither had my sister, Louisa, who married Edward Williams, and died in 1824, at the age of 26 years. Charles, the youngest son of Judge Lithgow, was never married. He died the early part of the present century. Susannah, the eldest daughter, married Rev. Mr. Murray. They both died in Newburyport where he was settled. Three of their children survived them, but none of them are now living.

Sarah, another daughter, married Capt. Saml. Howard, of Augusta, then a part of Hallowell. They left two sons and a daughter. None of their descendants are now living, except my wife, her sister (Mrs. Baker of Dorchester,) and her children.

Mary, another daughter, married James Davidson, who had held a Major's commission in the British army. They settled at Bath in this State, and died leaving no children.

The other daughters, Charlotte, Nancy and Jane, were never married. The two latter died before my remembrance: I was born Dec. 25, 1796.

William Lithgow, my Grandfather, was appointed, I think, by Governor Shirley to the command of Fort Halifax at Winslow, at the time of the old Indian war, about the year 1753 or 4. I have an impression that he also commanded at Richmond, at one time. After the war he settled with his family at Phipsburg, then a part of Georgetown, where he owned several thousand acres of land, and where he died, about the year 1798. I hope soon to be able to give you the precise time of his death, his age, and also that of most of the members of his family.

Respectfully your most Obt. Servt.

L. W. Lithgow.

ARTICLE X.

ENGLISH DEFINITIONS

OF

INDIAN TERMS.

FROM PAUL DUDLEY'S PAPERS.

FURNISHED BY

J. WINGATE THORNTON.

INDIAN TERMS AND DEFINITIONS.

The Lord's prayer in the Indian tongue, viz: the Indians of Norridgewock and Penobscot in New England, and Nova Scotia, as it was translated for their use by a French Jesuit, and attested to by four of the Indian hostages in the presence of an interpreter at Boston, Jan. 22, 1720.

Nemmetunx in naw Spùmkeeg abean
Father ours Heaven sitting

Sùngamawary moagvadtch aveivisian
Made great or glorious thy name

Amantenège pàtchee wàwittaw wàgisaw
we wish and desire, or may it be

Kòewtepèrmoc wāwungaunūka ketūngwat
koewtaraevtamanwungan oownūmbbe kikpatchey

Kitùngwat Mawmer'enee Aramagesekog
give us to-day and to come

Noewtoewtaskèskwaw Awbùnnae maenaw
bread

oowbawawtche awnawerlaw mawweāga
we desire Forgiveness

Kagaungwe whoorèegpawn
wherein we have made angry.

Neunawk nageesee awnawher dawmawwaun
nawshwauke
Kagungweyaw Keitbawneke
we forgive faults against us

Moosawk awrawque Setermekike
must not think or take revenge

Toung moung pawe whootche
keep us from evil things

Sawàwgee oownènamehènaw
nor persuaded to, or put upon wicked things

Mukka wungguarrawtàwkesaw kenusue
Wungmenèher meh meuotche keyk
Ill things

Neawritch
So be it, or Amen

Definitions of Indian Words from Paul Dudley's Mss.

White, Omebekun—*Black,* Kawsay
Black cloth, Kawsay wakun
Red, Maguagun—*Island,* Menawhen
Apples, Seegonawk
Apple water or cider, Seegnawnebee
Sachem or Lord, Sunggamaw
Nothing, Oundaw tummaw
Bag, Manooutey
An old woman, Weuney sosis, *very old woman,* petaw
Plumbs, Gungwawkguawener
Thorn, Gungwoauh—*Rum,* Okkepee
Clam, Ase,—*Clams,* Asawk—*Oyster,* Maddasa

Oysters, Maddassawk—*Eels,* Nawhoumauk
Pickerel, Gonoose, (plural) gonoosawk
Trout, Scoutam, (plural) Scoutammawk
Steal, Komoodnaken—*Lie,* pesoe
Speak falsely, Woongamie
Honour, Asehunk

In the *Algonkin* language, in the *Namgauck,* in the *Natick.*

Earth,	Acke,	Kekke,	Ohke
Father,	Nousee	Nunetunx,	Noosh
Heaven,	Spioniakaouin,	Sprankeeg,	Kesuk

Bread, Pabouchikem, aubun, or quasegun, petukgunneg
Huckleberry, Sartur, Huckleberry bush, sartamoosey
Frog, Cheguas

ARTICLE XI.

MORTALITY

IN

AUGUSTA, MAINE.

1852—1855.

MORTALITY IN AUGUSTA, MAINE.

To Wm. Willis, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—I do myself the pleasure of presenting you an abstract of the record of deaths in this City for the year 1855. The difficulty, as well as the labor of perfecting such a record, is greatly increased by the multiplicity of Burial places within the limits of the City—there being no less than fourteen.

The Deaths during the year were 130:

Of those over five years, there were—

Males,	39	Females,	46

Of these, 6 were from 80 to 90 years.

From 70 to 80,	9	From 60 to 70,	9
From 50 to 60,	5	From 40 to 50,	11
From 30 to 40,	12	From 20 to 30,	17
From 10 to 20,	11	From 5 to 10,	5

Under 5 years, - 45

Of this number 15 occurred at the Insane Hospital.

In the several months the mortality was as follows, viz:

January, 14	February, 15	March, - 12
April, - 6	May, - 7	June, - 4
July, - 10	August, 14	September, 17
October, 9	November, 13	December, 9

The indications in this record agree with the fact, that the year past was one of unusual health. My opinion is that the number of deaths is smaller than occurred in any year for the last ten. Although the number reported is greater than that in 1852—the returns of that year being confessedly incomplete.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my esteem.

I am yours respectfully,

JOSHUA ALLEN.

DEATHS IN AUGUSTA IN 1852, '3, '4, AND '5.

1852, - - - 126	1853, - - - 173
1854, - - - 177	1855, - - - 130

Total, - - - - 606

$606 \div 4 = 151\frac{1}{2}$ the average for the time.

Estimated population, $8{,}500 \div 151 =$ one in $56\frac{1}{2}$.

Of these there were under 5 years of age, - 209	
From 5 to 10, - 31	From 10 to 20, - 66
From 20 to 30, - 70	From 30 to 40, - 64
From 40 to 50, - 51	From 50 to 60, - 36

From 60 to 70, - 38	From 70 to 80, - 34
From 80 to 90, - 19	90 and upwards, - 3

Total, - - - - - 606

Average length of life taking the medium of the decimated periods—$27\frac{13}{17}$ years.

Most respectfully yours,

JOSHUA ALLEN.

ARTICLE XII.

LETTER FROM REV. JACOB BAILEY

IN 1775,

DESCRIBING THE

DESTRUCTION OF FALMOUTH, ME.

BURNING OF FALMOUTH.

The following letter of that eccentric character, the Rev. *Jacob Bailey*, has been furnished to the Society for publication, by his biographer, Rev. Wm. S. Bartlett of Chelsea. Mr. Bailey was sent by the "Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign parts" as a missionary to the eastern settlements in Massachusetts, and established himself in Dresden, then a part of Pownalboro', in 1760. He had been a Congregationalist minister, but became a convert to the Church of England, and went to that country for Episcopal ordination. He was a man of great simplicity of character; his journals and correspondence are written in so plain, honest, and artless a manner, and are so full of details, that they possess great interest for the present times. Mr. Bartlett's memoir of Mr. Bailey, with extracts from his journals and letters, and containing biographical notices of many other Episcopal clergymen and loyalists, is exceedingly interesting, and deserves more extensive patronage than it has received.

Mr. Bailey made frequent journeys from Dresden to Boston and other places west, sometimes on horseback, at others by water. He often passed through Falmouth, and noticed it in his journal. In June, 1775, he received an invitation from the warden of the Episcopal church in that part of Falmouth which is now Portland, to officiate there, during the absence of Mr. Wiswall, their Rector. It appears by the letter which we publish, that he was here at the destruction of the town by the British, Oct. 18th, 1775. He writes in his journal, under 1775, as follows,—"Oct. 13th Set off for Falmouth. 14th, arrived at Falmouth. 15th, Sunday, Baptized Charles Hemmingway and —— Thurlo. 16th, A fleet of Six Sail came into the harbor. Capt. Mowatt declares the destruction of Falmouth. 18th, Falmouth laid in ashes." This is all the journal preserves of Mr. Bailey's movements at that time. Mr. Bartlett in communicating the letter says:

"I would remark that the letter of Mr. Bailey sent, was copied from a small book of his, and that this book appears to have been copied from much rougher memoranda, which have every appearance of having been written at the time the events noticed occurred.

There is no date or address to the letter sent, nor have I the means of supplying these deficiencies.

If you put a prefatory note to Mr. B.'s letter, you will of course disclaim for the transcriber any sympathy for the political views there expressed."

Mr. Bailey, like most of the Episcopalians, adhered to the royal cause on the breaking out of the revolution, and was treated by many of the people among whom he ministered, with much harshness. The majority of the people who inhabited his missionary district were as hostile to the form of his religion as they were to his politics; and therefore had a double quarrel with him, which stimulated them to drive him from the country. He took refuge in Nova Scotia, which became the future scene of his labors. We have thought it would be interesting to preserve a view of the important event which the letter describes, from a different stand-point than those from which lt has been usually presented.

In regard to Mowatt, we wish we had more to say; our information concerning him is very meager, although we are glad to be able to refer to a source of information which we have been unable ourselves to reach. The following letter contains a valuable reference for further particulars of this celebrated individual.

CAMBRIDGE, 27th Feb., 1857.

MR. WILLIS:

I send the Report of which I spoke to you. I have not been able to find the reference to Mowatt; but in Rodd's Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, published in London, 1843, page 62, is this:

"Mowatt (Capt. Henry, R. N.) Relation of the services in which he was engaged in America from 1759 to the close of the American war, 1783, fol." 18 shillings.

What has become of this, I know not. Rodd died long since. It may have got into possession of John Carter Brown of Providence, or Peter Force of Washington, or —— Lenox of New York. Henry Stevens of Morley House, London, would be most likely to know about it, though if he were written to, ten to one he would not answer your letter.

Truly yours,

J. S. SIBLEY.

We trust we shall be able to procure some account of Capt. Mowatt for a future volume of our collections; it seems he had a long tour of duty on our coast. He was with Gov. Pownal in his expedition to the Penobscot in 1759. W.

LETTER OF MR. BAILEY.

"To ——

SIR:

If I should pass over in silence the destruction of Falmouth, you might account me guilty of an inexcusable omission, especially as it lay contiguous to this county, and as I happened to be a spectator of this affecting scene. I have already given you a particular relation of some former commotions, which doubtless occasioned this severe exertion of military power.

On Friday, the 13th of October, the inhabitants were alarmed by the appearance (of a fleet) consisting of six sail, which passed by the harbour, and stretched along the eastern shores; the wind blowing in heavy squalls from the north-west.

On Sunday a report prevailed in town that the fleet were at Townsend, and had taken a number of sheep from a neighboring island, and that, in consequence of some opposition, one or two buildings were consumed by fire. These reports induced the people to conclude that the design of this equipment was only to procure provisions for the forces in Boston, who were now represented as in a starving condition.

On Monday morning, about nine, the same number of shipping appeared in the offing, and seemed by their motions, approaching the harbour, the wind still continuing

to blow hard from the north-west. About eleven we perceived them within Cape Elizabeth, and spreading all their canvass to secure the harbour, and at three they had beat up to Hog Island and came to anchor, almost a league from the town.

The inhabitants now concluded that the enemy, as they phrased it, had no other intention than to prepare for taking in cattle, sheep, hay, and other necessary articles; and as they conceived the proprietors were ready to sell their provisions, the more sensible and prudent part of the town judged it to be the excess of folly and madness to attempt any resistance.

Soon after their coming to an anchor, we observed the barge from the Commodore rowing in pursuit of a small schooner, which, notwithstanding the discharge of several muskets and two cannon, escaped in safety to the town. The populace which were gazing by hundreds were immediately thrown into furious agitation by this incident, and vowed revenge with the (ut) most menace and execration.

The Committee, composed of tradesmen and persons of no property, prompted only for a flaming zeal for the liberty of their country, were not less enraged at this hostile appearance, and, to display their wisdom and courage, they ordered the company of guards to take possession, who, in obedience to these instructions, stole safely down in the close of the evening to secure the cattle, to intimidate the tories, and to observe the motions of the enemy. All, however, remained in profound peace and tranquility till eleven o'clock the next morning, when the sternmost ship got under sail and the rest in succession.

It was half after two before the Commodore weighed anchor, when the whole fleet stood directly up the river, and formed in line of battle before the town. We now plainly discovered one ship of twenty guns, one of sixteen,

a large schooner of fourteen, a bomb sloop, and two other armed vessels.

The Commodore, who proved to be Capt. Mowatt, had no sooner come to anchor and handed his sails, than he fitted out his barge, in which he dispatched an officer on shore, with a letter directed to the inhabitants of Falmouth. He landed at the lower end of King street, amid a prodigious assembly of people, which curiosity and expectation had drawn together from every quarter.

Some of the multitude appeared in arms, who united with the rest to convey the officer with uncommon parade and ceremony along the street to the Town House.[1] His entrance was immediately followed by a confused mixture, which filled the apartment with noise and tumult.

At length the officer being seated with the Committee; who took possession of the Judge's seat, and silence commanded, a letter was delivered and read by Mr. Bradbury, a lawyer, but not without such a visible emotion as occasioned a tremor in his voice.[2]

This letter displayed their crimes against government in spirited terms, reproached them for entering into rebellion and casting off their allegiance to support the iniquitous pretensions of ambitious and designing men. For which offences it was determined to make them severe examples of military vengeance: destruction was denounced against the town, and only two hours allowed to escape with their lives. It is impossible to describe the amazement which prevailed upon reading this alarming declaration: a frightful consternation ran through the assembly, every heart was seized with terror, every countenance changed colour, and a profound silence ensued for several moments. Such sud-

[1] Corner of King and Middle Streets.

[2] Theophilus Bradbury, who moved to Newburyport, and was afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

den alterations in large bodies of men seldom happen as now appeared, nor such instant transitions from security and enjoyment to inevitable destruction and misery. The blustering sons of liberty dropped all their bustle and importance, the stoutest of them trembled with fearful apprehensions, anxious for their own safety, and softened into sensibility at the approaching fate of their tenderest connexions. Behold the insignificant and contemptible appearance of man, that noisy, conceited, imperious, and busy animal, when calamity overtakes him: how soon many unexpected accidents compel him to descend from his aspiring greatness, and throw him from the highest insolence of pride and self-consequence into the basest dejection and the most obsequious servility!

During the astonishment which had seized the multitude, I quitted the apartment of justice and became a spectator of what passed in the street, where nothing occurred but scenes of tumult, confusion, and bustle. Great numbers of women and children were pouring along, replete with anxiety and inquisitive expectation, but the minute they received the fatal intelligence, their countenances assumed a different aspect; their eyes rolled with piercing anguish, and every corner was filled with repeated cries, shrieks, and lamentations. Good Heavens, what a mingled apparatus of terror and distress! Women with infants at the breast, or helpless children in their arms, running out of town in precipitate affright; others screaming aloud, and clinging about their parents for protection; the aged, the infirm, the sick, the dying, forsaking their habitations, and uttering their piteous groans to increase the melancholy uproar, and, to render their situation still more deplorable, a cold night was advancing, and the place of their destination was uncertain. All the neighboring houses in the country were crowded with these afflicted people, but many of the pro-

prietors, instead of condoling their misfortunes, or affording them the tenderness of sympathy, insulted them in their distress and wronged them of their property.

A spectator of that clamour and commotion that extended through the town might discover several incidents which alternately excited the softest commiseration and the emotions of laughter. On one hand appeared weeping, sorrow, plaintive anguish, and helpless decrepitude; on the other, barbarous exultation, heedless temerity, and unconscious blunder. Some, in their hurry and precipitation, would snatch up perhaps a broom, another a pail, a third would seize an handful of glasses, and one man in particular was espied running out of danger with a greasy blanket under his arm, leaving behind his wife and several children exposed to all the calamity and ruin which was bursting to overwhelm them.

But, if it was affecting to behold women and children bewailing their situation, it was still more striking to observe gentlemen of reputed fortitude, courage, and resolution dissolving in tears and wringing their hands in the agonies of despair.

Indeed it was a dismal consideration and afforded a gloomy prospect to abandon on a sudden their elegant habitations, the accumulations of several years, and to be reduced from opulence to the distresses of poverty, and to be deprived of all subsistence for their suffering families.

A number of considerate gentlemen, however, made choice of a committee, viz., Brigadier Preble, Dr. Coffin, and Mr. Pagan, to wait upon the Commodore. He received them with expressions of humanity, and even shed tears at the repetition of his orders. At the earnest entreaty of these gentlemen, he consented to suspend execution till sunrise, upon condition that the people would agree to deliver up a number of their arms. Upon the return of this com-

mittee the inhabitants assembled in the Court House, and readily complied with the requisition.

The arms being delivered to the Commodore about eight, he granted them a further respite till nine the next morning, and besides engaged that, if the town would surrender their cannon and musketry, and give hostages for their future good behaviour, he would delay the execution of his orders till he could represent their situation to the Admiral, and intercede for their final deliverance.

At the same time Capt. Mowatt assured them that if any person should presume to occasion any disturbance, should discharge any guns, or attempt to escape by water during the night, he would immediately fire upon the town.

When the committee returned the second time, they found the disposition in the people to assemble in the morning, but the zealous sons of liberty dispatched messengers into all the adjacent country, and the inhabitants were beating drums, firing alarms, and mustering under arms for thirty miles 'round. Some companies entered Falmouth before midnight, and protested that if any compliance or submission was made, they would burn it to ashes.

Those unfortunate persons who ran away upon the reading of Capt. Mowatt's declaration now returned to secure their interest, and were employed through a tedious night with carriages and horses in removing their furniture, by which means a perpetual scene of noise, agitation, and tumult ensued. And, that no provocation might be offered to Mowatt by persons of indiscretion, a number of moderate gentlemen voluntarily engaged their services to parade the streets, and prevent any disorder that might arise. Not a single person, it is presumed, ventured to close his eyes in sleep, but passed away the time in laborious exercise, or wakeful anxiety till the sun arose.

The morning was clear, calm, and pleasant, without a breath of wind, and the town was crowded with people and carts from the country to assist in removing the goods and furniture of the inhabitants; but, notwithstanding all this suspension and assistance, many were obliged to leave most of their movables exposed to the fire, and were able to save nothing from the general destruction.

At length the fatal hour arrived! At exactly half an hour after nine, the flag was hoisted on the top of the mast, and the cannon began to roar with incessant and tremendous fury.

The Commodore, perceiving the streets replete with people, oxen, and horses, directed his men to fire over the tops of the houses, but this solemn exhibition struck the multitude into instant alarm and amazement. The oxen, terrified at the smoak and report of the guns, ran with precipitation over the rocks, dashing everything in pieces, and scattering large quantities of goods about the streets. The affrighted passengers betook themselves to flight with distraction in their looks and madness in their career, some running backwards and forwards with extended arms, others screaming aloud for assistance. Some were so overcome with the passion of fear as to fall down upon their faces, till their companions encouraged them to arise and to hasten out of danger. Many affirmed themselves to be wounded, whilst others imagined themselves to be killed dead on the spot; but, notwithstanding these dismal apprehensions, all escaped unhurt through the favor of Providence to some secure retreat.

And now a scene inexpressibly grand and terrible was exhibited in the view of thousands of sorrowful spectators. Bombs and carcasses armed with destruction and streaming with fire blazed dreadful through the air, and descended with flaming vengeance on the defenceless buildings. In a

few minutes the whole town was involved in smoak and combustion. The crackling of the flames, the falling of the houses, the bursting of the shells, the heavy thunder of the cannon, threw the elements into frightful noise and commotion, and occasioned the very foundations of surrounding nature to quake and tremble.

Now lengthening pyramids of fire ascended horribly bright from the dissolving structures, and the habitations of pride, vanity, and affluence crumbled into ashes, while their late possessors beheld the shocking appearance with a mixture of astonishment and humble indignation.

> Dark clouds of smoak in towering columns rise,
> Roll up the heavens and wave along the skies.

Let us now turn our compassionate eyes towards the wretched fugitives, flying from the horrid conflagration and wandering into the country, destitute of homes, oppressed with sorrow, and fainting with hunger, watching, and fatigue. It was impossible for persons of sensibility and reflection to behold the mingled multitude without emotion; to see the necessitous and the affluent, the gentleman and mechanick, the master and the servant, the mistress and the maid, reduced to the same undistinguished level.

Those ladies who had been educated in all the softness of ease and indulgence, who had been used to the most delicate treatment, and never ventured out of town without an equipage and proper attendants, are now constrained to travel several miles on foot to seek a shelter from the cold and the tempest.

Here another moving scene engages our attention; children helpless and ignorant, separated from their parents, running about with wildness and affright in their countenances, crying for pity and imploring protection; there the tender mother bursting with anxious grief for the absence

of some prattling innocent, which she has either lost among the crowd, or imagines buried beneath the devouring flames.

About a thousand men in arms attended this scene of devastation, besides a prodigious number of both sexes, without attempting any repulsion; but while the miserable sufferers were escaping with their lives and looking back upon the frightful ruin of their estates, a multitude of villains were purloining their goods and carrying them into the country beyond the reach of justice.

And large quantities were taken, not only out of the roads and adjacent fields, but, under the pretence of friendly assistance, concealed from the knowledge of their owners. More was conceived to be ravished away by the hands of barbarous rapine, than consumed by the unrelenting rapacity of the flames, and the country people were hardly restrained from destroying those houses that escaped the general devastation. A most surprizing instance of perfidious baseness and inhuman cruelty!

There being no wind to facilitate these fiery operations, the bombardment continued from half after nine till sunset, during which all the lower end and middle of the town was reduced to an heap of rubbish. Several houses in the back street and in the upper part, together with the church shared the same fate. The front of the Meeting house was torn to pieces by the bursting of a bomb, and the buildings which were left standing had their glass windows broken, and both walls and apartments terribly shattered.

In this manner was the elegant and thriving town of Falmouth suddenly ruined by the obstinacy of a few committee men of little or no property, who, it seemed, rather chose to see hundreds of their neighbours reduced to indigence and the utmost distress, than to perform an act of justice which their consciences and allegiance required. In a word about three-quarters of the town was consumed, and between two

and three hundred families, who twenty-four hours before enjoyed in tranquility their commodious habitations, were now in many instances destitute of a hut for themselves and families; and as a tedious winter was approaching, they had before them a most gloomy and distressing prospect.

NOTE.—This account of the destruction of Falmouth Neck, now Portland, is exceedingly exaggerated, and leaves a false impression of the conduct of the people toward each other. For a minute statement of facts in regard to this melancholy scene, we refer to the History of Portland, and the editions of Smith and Deane's Journals, published by Mr. Willis.

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